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THE GERMAN JEW

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THE GERMAN JEW

HIS SHARE IN MODERN CULTURE

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"Ich kümmere mich wenig darum, ob ich Wohlgefallen finde bei denen oder anderen Ärgernis bereite. Ich kenne nur Studenten, die ich belehren will, nicht aber den zornigen Eifer gegnerischen Parteien. Ich will mir klar werden über ein wissenschaftliches Problem, der Wahrheit zu dienen ist mein Beruf." —

Ludwig Geiger, in *Die deutsche Literatur und die Juden*

(*"I am little concerned whether I find approval with some or give offence to others. I recognize only students whom I desire to instruct, not the heated passions of opposing sides. I seek to make clear a scientific problem. My profession is to serve the truth."*)

PREFACE

Truth to tell, if ours were a fully civilized world, such a monograph as this would not need to have been written. Human achievement, particularly in the arts and sciences, represents a category that, though founded appreciably upon national and so-called racial characteristics, rises above these delimitations. Prejudice and partisanry underscore boundaries; thought and imagination transcend them. The more the pity, then, that any people should be required, especially at this late date in history, to reaffirm its right to a place in the sun of contemporary society, let alone the higher reaches of culture.

The writers of *The German Jew: His Share in Modern Culture,* one of them a psychiatrist, the other a man of letters, are not in any dogmatic, religious sense, Jews, or anything else. They envisage the problems of the world as scientists, as citizens of that world, without abating by one jot their consciousness of Jewish origin or their interest in the history, the martyrdom, the psychology, the achievements, the faults, and the failures of their people. It was the English seer Havelock Ellis who spoke of the Victorian concep-

tion of woman as a cross between an angel and an idiot. Only yesterday, it would seem, we discovered that woman was — woman, a human being even as man. So, too, the curious polarity of human attitudes has made of the Jew now an archangel, now a demon. He is neither. He is an all-too-human creature like the rest, not differing in any essential from those among whom he has — when permitted to have — his being.

The Jews have not been the only martyrized people. Persecution has flourished in many countries and has been equally versatile in its choice of victims. By that same token, to reveal the contribution of the Jew to the culture of ancient or modern times — to protest, in the name of humanity no less than in that of art and science, against persecution, whether it take the form of frank physical assault or that of the "cold" pogrom, civic excommunication — is not merely to defend and to vindicate a particular group; it is, in a deeper sense, to defend the dearly bought victories of humankind over the primal beast against reversion to savagery. Whoever the oppressor, whoever the victim, humanity is the ultimate sufferer. . . . All humanity, not a part. The persecutor as well as the persecuted. It is a sad error today to imagine that one part of the world, or one section of a territory, can abstract itself from the evil that it visits upon another. So, too, a Hitler excommunicating the Jews from Germany by that same token excommunicates the German people from the Jews. The loss to the Jews is incalculable. Even a cursory examination, however, of the share of the German Jew in modern culture reveals, too, in all modesty, that the loss to Germany also is consider-

able. The Jew, as an element of culture, is deeply embedded in every aspect of German thought, not as a separable layer, but as an organic, integrated phase.

It is not easy to speak with the accuracy of an accountant about the percentage of Jews in Germany. Generally, competent authorities during the past fifty years have placed that percentage at about one. Contemporary Germany, in a population of some 65,000,000, has about 600,000 Jews, or less than one per cent. That is, full-blooded Jews. There are those who say that if all admixtures were counted, the percentage would rise to twenty-five. It seems exaggerated. This does not, however, affect such considerations as those dealt with in the chapter on " The Comparative Evaluation of Genius." Most of the names in this book are those of full Jews; a number of half-Jews are represented. Increasing the number of Jews by adding to the roll those of thinner mixture would naturally increase the area of choice, so that the proportionate contribution would preserve a like ratio. Indeed, that ratio might rise. For the rest, it is not a catalogue of names that we have tried to compile; rather we have sought to register a body of achievement.

Again, there is the question of including, especially among the musicians and authors, Austrian Jews. In general, we have done so where the German authorities themselves have accepted the writers in question as integral elements of German culture. The cases are not too numerous to affect in any vital degree the ratio maintained by Jews who happen to be, geographically as well as culturally, German.

Considering the time and space at the disposal of the

authors, it is not impossible that important contributors have been left out. Always, too, in such a work as this, there is the possibility that names have been erroneously included. A certain type of Jewish enthusiast, in his eagerness to make out an excellent case, appropriates in good faith such gentlemen as Thomas Mann, or the composer Max Bruch (even the careful Ernest Newman accepts Bruch as a Jewish composer). Who knows? So many Jews have written behind impenetrable disguises! On the other hand, such hostile critics as Adolf Bartels, in their violent dislike of the Jew, present to us those Gentile writers of whom they disapprove, regardless of the evidence at hand. All names, whenever it has been possible, have been checked more than once, in standard German works of reference. The Jewish participation in modern German culture is so vast that there is no need of juggling facts or figures. Wherever we may err, we err in good faith and shall gladly stand corrected, whether in matters of attribution or omission. We may be addressed in care of the publisher.

ABRAHAM MYERSON
ISAAC GOLDBERG

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THE GERMAN JEW

CHAPTER ONE

THE NEW ANTI-SEMITISM

Towards the end of the eighteenth century a new dawn seemed to break for the Jew. Emperor Joseph II of Austria, with his Patent of Tolerance, in 1782, abolished the special garb theretofore imposed upon the race; the blockade against education and the trades was raised. In the United States the Declaration of Independence admitted the Jew, tacitly, to theoretical equality with the rest of mankind. The Constitution, in turn, admitted him to practical citizenship. A few years later in France the Constituent Assembly, on September 21, 1791, made the Jew a citizen of the nation. The armies of Napoleon, crushing everything in their path, shattered in their march the walls of the ghetto. Until Waterloo came for Napoleon . . . and for the Jew.

The Holy Alliance — Russia, Austria, and Prussia — in its fervour of reaction, bent upon re-enslavement of the Christian, was not likely to spare the Jew. By an old process he became identified with the movements that had lifted him from oppression and excommunication; through an

old technique he became the scapegoat of the recrudescent feudalism. For his brief breathing-space of comparative liberty he paid, as always, heavily.

Yet a vast stride had been taken towards ultimate deliverance. The years 1830, 1848, 1870 mark successive stages in the long epic of the Wandering Jew: his readmission to rights in France and Belgium; his entry into the civic society of Sweden, Denmark, and Greece; the abolition of the ghetto in Italy, to signalize the fall of the papal power in affairs temporal.

In the reaction of 1815 Germany had maintained a Prussian leadership. Within a few years the Hep Hep riots were providing their ironic commentary upon the high hopes raised by the Man of Destiny. The liberal Jew, linked by common aspirations to his Gentile fellow-liberal, suffered a like fate. Heine and Börne, had they been born Christians instead of achieving conversion, might nevertheless have been exiled from Germany. The revolution of 1848 brought freedom — on paper, at least — to multitudes of German Jews. The German Empire, organized in the very year that the popes were shorn of their secular primacy, conferred upon the Jews equality with the rest of the German citizens. Another dawn was breaking. Otto von Bismarck, the Napoleon of the Teutonic Empire, seemed destined to repeat for the Jews the service of liberation that had been performed by the erstwhile Little Corporal.

Europe was in a foment of the new nationalism; the Jew was the newest of nationals. Between 1815 and 1848 he had prominently associated himself with the rise of the bourgeois, or industrial, capitalist. He thus aroused, as Lazare

has pointed out, the hostility of the conservatives. He was soon, however, to incur the disfavour of the bourgeois, too, who resented the rivalry of the Jew in industry and speculation. Fourier, Proudhon, even the Jews Marx and Lassalle, had variously inveighed against the Jew in his enforced economic parasitism. The religious aspect of Jew-hatred was gradually being transformed into a hatred with a new basis — that of sociology and economics, — *Rassenkampf.*

The new nationalism quite naturally began to cast about for a new ethnology; before long a body of literature was accumulating in which the Jew emerged as an irreducible, inassimilable element in a society that by his very presence he corrupted. Ernest Renan, as a brilliant youth of twenty-four, had published in 1847 his *General History of the Semitic Languages,* in which, exalting the cultural powers of the Aryan over the Semite, he unwittingly suggested to the Judæophobes a pseudo-scientific terminology. Joseph Arthur Gobineau, another Frenchman, issued between 1853 and 1855 his *Essai sur l'inégalite des races humaines,* in which the white race was cautioned not to pollute its strain by miscegenation. Such sources as these, blended with Hegelian nationalism and bad theology, shortly grew into a flood of race-hatred that was easily rationalized into scientific doctrine.

In France, for example, Gougenot des Mousseaux's *Le juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens,* appeared in 1869. It sought to explain the contradictory, vacillating attitude of the hostile Christian by distinguishing between Judaism and Mosaism, and contemning the first. The author denounced the Jew as "the designer, the con-

structor, and the chief engineer of revolutions." It was left for a German, however, Wilhelm Marr, to crystallize and to systematize the new theory that had achieved such brilliant fragments. This he did in his pamphlet *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanthum* (1873). It was a document fraught with the direst consequences for the new Jew. The slayer of God — the expiatory deicide — had been transformed into the slayer of peoples.

In this historically important pamphlet, writes Bernard Lazare (*Antisemitism: Its History and Causes*), " Marr declared Germany the prey of a conquering race, the Jews, a race possessing everything and wanting to judaize Germany, like France . . . and he concluded by saying that Germany was lost. . . . The whole of German metaphysics combatted the *Jewish spirit,* which it considered essentially different from the *Germanic spirit.* . . . While the Spirit is realized in the world's history, while it advances, the Jews remain at a lower stage. Such is the Hegelian thought, that of Hegel and also of his disciples of the extreme left — Feuerbach, Arnold Ruge and Bruno Bauer. Max Stirner developed these ideas with much precision."

It is very easy, in this connection, to lose one's track amid the interfused issues. Those philosophers who oppose the Semitic morality as, to use the famous Nietzschean phrase, a slave-morality, offer quite as great an affront to Christianity as to Judaism. They are not necessarily anti-Semites in the practical, persecutional sense of the term. Philosophically, indeed, many Jews agree with them — Jews to whom religion, all religion, in its orthodox sense, as distinguished from its historical and psychological senses, is, as it is to

many Gentiles, an antiquated mode of ethics. The revulsion against anti-Semitism, then, is not necessarily a defence of the Jewish religion. It is a defence, ultimately, of toleration — of the right to one's beliefs — of the right to one's place in the economic and cultural structures — a defence, in short, of the higher attainments of civilization against the beast in us all, to which too easily, under stress of circumstance, we revert.

For the moment, then, despite the pamphlet of Wilhelm Marr, all seemed well. Bismarck, having ridden into power with the National Liberal party, which was under the leadership of the Jew Lasker, appeared as the champion of a new day. Then came the bank *Krach* of 1873. The Jewish bankers, generally, escaped the greater dangers of the new banking system; at once their shrewdness was made an additional motive for hatred. From 1871 to 1877 Bismarck was a liberal. Then, deserting the National Liberals for the Conservatives and the Centre, he took revenge for the tolerance of his early years. With all the power at his command he attacked his former political allies and, the better to spear them, raised the age-old battle-cry: "Jew!"

The "inspired" press reeked of anti-Semitism. It was no longer a frankly religious alignment; race and nation were the new slogans. The Jews were ousted from high preferment in the army and the universities. Riots and boycotts were rife. Marr's pamphlet went through many reprintings. As Marr had crystallized and systematized the new hatred, so now Heinrich von Treitschke politicized it. He excoriated the Jew as a pacifist, a materialist, and an atheist; scorned

him as a man without a country and, therefore, as one incapable of patriotism.[1]

In October 1879, anti-Semitic leagues were formed in Berlin and Dresden. Adolf Stöcker, during the next two years, founded a Christian Social Working-man's Union, renewing popular outbreaks against the Jews, but at the same time complicating the theological reaction. The Lutherans joined hands with him, not because they hated the Jew so much as that they feared lowered prestige, and did not wish to see the Roman Catholics acquire control of Christian Socialism. In the year of Bismarck's volte-face a determined attempt — scientific, of course, and by no means the last — had been made to deprive the Jews of their racial claim to Jesus. Professor Sepp, declaring Jesus to have been superhuman, and therefore a member of no human race, argued for the rejection of the Scriptures and sought a valid basis of Christianity in the cuneiform inscriptions. In 1886 a Pan-German League was formed in Berlin. This added fuel to the anti-Semitic conflagration, at the same time inflaming the Catholics by its anti-popery.

The anti-Semitism thus renewed was by no means allowed to pass unchallenged. Christians have never been lacking in the support of Jews embattled against prejudice and hatred. Crown Prince Frederick, afterwards Emperor, repudiated the riots of 1880–1 as "a shame and a disgrace

[1] Jacobs, in his *Contribution of the Jews to Civilization,* has an interesting note upon the nationality of the over-ardent German Nationalists: "It is rather curious to find German ideals defended with so much heat by persons with names like Treitschke (properly Treitschky) and Chamberlain — not very Germanic names. Similarly we have Englishry defended from Jewry by a gentleman of the un-English name Hilaire Belloc."

to Germany." Among the famous Germans who signed a contemporary protest were Professors Virchow and Mommsen. The Russian pogroms of 1881, moreover, involved the German anti-Semites, too, in the wave of indignation that inundated the civilized world. Financial scandals were corrupting the Christian Socialist movement from within; in 1894 Stöcker was dismissed in disgrace from his post of court preacher, and next year the Emperor publicly condemned the Christian Socialist party. The Roman Catholics were withdrawing their allegiance. The movement died. In 1894, too, the Dreyfus case burst upon Europe. By the time it had run its course, it had newly discredited nationalistic anti-Semitism.

The misdirected passions, the false theology, the pseudoscience, of the Marrs and the Treitschkes were to find a plagiarist and a specious advocate in Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The son-in-law of Wagner was to attempt to prove, in all the categories, the thesis that Wagner himself had maintained, as early as 1850, as to the Jews in music. A host of little Chamberlains was to follow suit. . . . Yet on the eve of the World War Germany and Austria were supporting other enlightened countries in their demand for the betterment of the Jewish situation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE JUDÆO-CHRISTIAN DILEMMA

The historic oscillation of the Gentile world between hatred of the Jew and fondness for him — at least, willingness to understand him and to live with him in amity — mirrors in its paradoxical phases a deep psychological truth. Beneath the hatred, which so often and so consistently has been stimulated from above, lies an ambivalent friendliness that would quickly grow into a loftier relationship if fostered by authority with equal zeal. As it is, no sooner is this fatal stimulus withdrawn than Jew and Gentile resume, through natural humanity, relations founded upon interwoven passions and problems.

It has been written in many books that before the Christian world developed a culture and science of its own, the Jews and the Arabs, their cousins, were keeping alive the learning of the ancients and carrying, in the familiar metaphor, the torch of civilization. The Arabs disappeared from culture; the Jews did not. Harried from pillar to post, expelled from England, France, and Spain, massacred by the zealous crusaders, their "élan vital," to use the Berg-

sonian term, drove them into every recess of the world. Denied an outlet to the wholesome soil, where men remain primitive and healthy, they flowed like water into the cities. Shut out from the general pool of learning, they flowed into little eddies of their own, bred great scholars who debated learnedly on the law and waxed eloquent and mighty over minute points of procedure. Denied the open and forthright demonstration of their abilities, they demonstrated the plasticity of the human being by becoming adepts in survival. By taking on those occupations which their neighbours despised, such as commerce, finance, and the like, they lived a mutilated life. The great Christian world alternately buffeted them and tolerated them in a bewildering, fantastic way. One of the most fascinating chapters in social psychology has yet to be written: that on the ambivalence of the Christian world towards the Jews. The psychic scars of their experience persist today.

Yet there must be something of great biologic potency in a race that can survive the cruelties and brutalities of the Middle Ages and that springs to the front with the first opportunity.

The German Jews, even more than the Jews of any other part of Europe, have so entered into the essential life of their home-country that many of them have all but lost any deep consciousness of a racial identity. The inner divisions of European Jewry — an ironic commentary upon the mysterious plot of an occultly united Jewdom to acquire control of the world — are no secret. For long a certain hierarchy of origin has obtained. The Sephardim (that is, the Jews of Spanish-Portuguese origin) regarded themselves as the

aristocracy of the race. . . . That is, if there truly be, in a scientific, anthropological sense, a Jewish race or any pure race. Look at the German Jews. Concretely they seem to be ordinary human beings. The general pattern of their physique is that of the Germans whom, allegedly, they threaten. You could study them biochemically in the most minute way and discover not an iota of difference between them and their Gentile accusers. They have their crudities and stupidities as well as their brilliancies. They are born, suffer from diseases, they beget, nourish, and die, as do their fellows.

Next to the Sephardim, according to the infra-racial hierarchy, came the Ashkenazim (that is, the Jews of German provenance). And last the Eastern Jews — a conglomerate, in the eyes of their superior brethren, of Polish, Russian, Galician, Rumanian Jews, who in turn squabbled humourlessly among themselves as to priority rights in the social scheme. The theme of these various divisions is an old staple of Jewish drama, fiction, feuilleton, and folk-material. The hierarchy itself, of course, is founded upon historical and economic bases.

The German Jew, because of his firm entrenchment in the life of his nation, acquired a pride that was not to be outdone by even the Sephardic Jew. He, too, was a millennial inhabitant of his country. His humble brother had developed, in that country, a vernacular, Judæo-German, more commonly known in this country as Yiddish (German, *jüdisch*). In time, of course, Yiddish, which was a ghetto dialect that gradually evolved into a language, became a badge of social inferiority. It bore in its very accents

the stamp of female simplicity, of economic subjection. It was for those who could not or would not grasp the culture of the great nation outside the ghetto walls. It was for women, who could not master the Hebrew of prayer-book and liturgy. It pointed inward, away from the dazzling Western civilization.

So that, when Moses Mendelssohn translated the Bible into German, employing the Hebraic characters, in a sense he translated many Jews into German, too. This is the point at which Jewish culture entered German culture. Too eagerly, indeed, for Mendelssohn, whose own daughters led the way to the numerous conversions that were soon taking place. The conversions were often of cultural rather than religious significance. One cannot, moreover, convert one's blood or drown the past in a baptismal font. Ever since the Mendelssohnian day, however, the one-hundred-per-cent Germans have questioned whether a Jew has not only the right but the potentiality to treat of Deutschland and Deutschtum. The question, in view of what the German Jew has added to German culture, becomes at its best academic; at its worst, malicious. It conceals an even deeper error. There is an inbreeding of cultures as there is of races. On the other hand, there is a cross-fertilization of cultures. It is precisely such cross-fertilizations that have been shown, in all intellectual history, to have produced the finest cultural results. The Spanish stylist Ramón del Valle-Inclán has declared that a renaissance is simply "the fecundation of national thought by foreign thought."

What was the testimony of Goethe, the loftiest symbol of the German spirit?

Goethe was the patron saint, one might say, of what he had christened a *Weltliteratur,* or world-literature. He did not close the doors of Germany; he opened wide the windows of Weimar to the breezes of the world. To the pilgrims who flocked to him from the distant lands of the various continents he responded with a like internationality of the mind. There was no one inexorable standard, no single imprescriptible law of culture. Culture was not a national solo; it was a chorus of peoples. The nations would thrive upon intellectual, as upon economic, interchange. It was as if the sage, upon the destruction of Napoleon's military empire, reaffirmed the inherent democracy of the spirit. He did not preach the abandonment of nationality; he advocated, however, the pooling, as it were, of distinctively developed national cultures into a universal culture.

"Why," he asked, "should the nations agree among themselves if fellow-citizens do not understand how to unite and co-operate with each other?" (The question still has pertinence to the Jews within Germany and without.) Again, he speaks of "My sanguine suggestion that our present active epoch with its increasing communication between the nations might soon hope for a world-literature." . . . Again: "Only, we repeat, the idea is not that the nations shall think alike, but that they shall learn how to understand each other, and, if they do not care to love one another, at least they will learn to tolerate one another." Once more: "Every nation has peculiarities by which it is distinguished from others, and it is by these distinguishing traits that nations are also attracted to and repelled from one another. The external expressions of these inner idio-

syncrasies appear to others in most cases strikingly disagreeable, or, if endurable, merely amusing. *This is why, too, we always respect a nation less than it deserves.*" (Italics ours.) "The inner traits, on the other hand, are not known or recognized, by foreigners or even by the nation itself; for the inner nature of a whole nation, as well as the individual man, works all unconsciously."

A year later (1830) Goethe returned to this favourite theme in a passage that sounds with sad appositeness to us who read him a century afterwards: "There has been talk for some time of a general world-literature, and indeed not without justice. For the nations, after they had been shaken into confusion and mutual conflict by the terrible wars, could not return to their settled and independent life again without noticing that they had learned many foreign ideas and ways, which they had unconsciously adopted, and had come to feel here and there previously unrecognized spiritual and intellectual needs. Out of this arose the feeling of neighbourly relations, and, instead of shutting themselves up as before, they gradually came to desire the adoption of some sort of more or less free spiritual intercourse.

"This movement, it is true, has lasted only a short time, but still long enough to start considerable speculation, and to acquire from it, *as one must always from any kind of foreign trade,* both profit and enjoyment." (Italics ours.) [1]

This is the Goethe whom Rémy de Gourmont called "the supreme hero of intellectual humanity" — the Goethe

[1] The selections from Goethe are reprinted as they appear in an excellent volume entitled *Goethe's Literary Essays,* gathered and arranged by J. E. Spingarn, with a Foreword by Viscount Haldane (New York, 1921).

invoked, so automatically, so *un-Goetheanly,* by the fanatic literary nationalists of Germany — the Goethe who could find that Carlyle, in his life of Schiller, judged Schiller " as it would be difficult for a German to judge him," and who could feel that the Germans were clearer about Shakspere and Byron, perhaps, than were the English themselves. Goethe, in the higher reaches of culture, stands for that very interpenetration of alien civilizations which the German Nationalists combat. . . . It is very likely, indeed, as a crowning irony, that the spirit of the Jewish intelligentsia, which for the moment lies prostrate under the Teutonic fury of the Hitler régime, is more Goethean than that of the Nationalists themselves — that, in some strange manner, it is the vilified Jews, rather than the self-chosen standard-bearers of an exclusively Teutonic Germany, who most truly maintain the lofty principles of the sage of Weimar.

The Jew has been compelled by the experience of history to become, in a phrase that Goethe suggests, a world-littérateur, a world-culturist. He belongs to an intra-nation seeking, at times mystically, the inter-nation preached in the pulpit, but proscribed in the forum. Called, at first by rival Mohammedans, the People of the Book, the Jews gave that Book — the remarkable library called the Bible — to the world. Regarding themselves at first as the Chosen People, the Jews have discovered that they were chosen for mockery and expiation. The concept of the Chosen People is a symptom of national narcissism. It has been explained away in fashions more flattering to the Jews, but psychologically it was precisely this: a glorification of themselves

as the favourite children of the Lord. *Every people, in its own eyes, is the Chosen People. Ich und Gott* is the device of all arbitrary potentates, though it achieve under some a more tactful utterance.

The Jew, then, may be as a type the very world-littérateur that Goethe's pronouncements connoted. For a people to have given to the world a Bible, the foundation, in a very strict and literal sense, of a universal culture, was no minor achievement. This holds true, of course, even if we abstract from that achievement its vast theological repercussions and concentrate only upon the literary and artistic values involved. The fundamental symbology by which the Western world has long lived in the spirit and expressed itself in word and image is incontestably Jewish.

H. L. Mencken, who cannot be accused of favouritism, has written in his *Treatise of the Gods:* " . . . These same Jews, from time immemorial, have been the chief dreamers of the human race, and beyond all comparison its greatest poets. It was Jews who wrote the magnificent poems called the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Books of Job and Ruth; it was Jews who set platitudes to deathless music in Proverbs; and it was Jews who gave us the Beatitudes, the Sermon on the Mount, the incomparable ballad of the Christ Child, and the twelfth chapter of Romans. I incline to believe that the scene recounted in John VIII, 3–11, is the most poignant drama ever written in the world, as the Song of Solomon is unquestionably the most moving love song, and the Twenty-third Psalm the greatest of hymns. All these transcendent riches Christianity inherits from a

little tribe of sedentary Bedouins, so obscure and unimportant that secular history scarcely knows them. No heritage of modern man is richer and none has made a more brilliant mark upon human thought, not even the legacy of the Greeks."

There is no need to disparage the Greeks in order to extol the culture of Palestine. If the Greeks gave to the world beauty and attempted to give rationality and science, the Jews gave a penetrating insight into life, a code of morals, and the first passionate cries against human injustice and human misery.

The immense, incalculable influence of the Bible has a significance that is very imperfectly grasped by those who speak of the clannishness of the Jew — of his narrow range of interest, of his essential lack of patriotism, his homelessness. (A technique of refined cruelty motivates that last accusation; first the Jew is deprived of his various homes, and then stigmatized as a man without a country.) The significance is this: if the Jew has produced a Book that has become a text for a vast portion of the civilized world, has not the world, by its very acceptance of that Book, attested to the universality of the Jew's outlook? If this is not, in its province, a world-literature, what then can be? If this does not reveal that the Jew is capable of penetrating to the essence of a different culture from his own, what can?

How well — how too well — the Jew can make a country's attitude his own, is revealed by another apposite irony out of the World War. To what new hymn did Germany send its cohorts to battle? In what impassioned lines did it find expression of the hatred that it must summon against

the foe? In the *Hymn of Hate,* by Ernst Lissauer. Ernst Lissauer is a full-blooded Jew. . . . May it be that a Jew can become more German that the Germans? [1]

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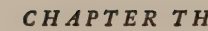
[1] Fritz Kahn, in *Die Juden als Rasse und Kulturvolk* (a book that should be used with caution), points out that the other popular songs of the war were both by Jewish writers: *Drüben am Wiesenrand,* by Zuckermann, and *Annemarie,* by Freund. Of the first he says that it is the one piece produced by the war that is worthy of inclusion in the German anthology.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COMPARATIVE EVALUATION OF GENIUS



THE FIRST real opportunity for the Jews to partake of the Western culture, in which they had lived as aliens longer than they had lived in the Oriental world, came from Napoleon. If we are to compare their achievements with that of their compatriots in every land, we must start somewhere in the nineteenth century. Although comparisons may be odious, they may be justified by necessity, and to have validity they must assure equal conditions, or something like equality. The essence of scientific judgment is to evaluate a phenomenon in its total setting. The Jew in the ghetto cannot fairly be compared with the German living free and in his own community, for the ghetto was not merely a secluded quarter; it was the symbol of withheld privilege, thwarted opportunity, frustrated participation.

It has been pointed out long ago as one of the characteristics of the primitive mind that it does not perceive the contradictions of life. A savage will go through an elaborate

formula for producing crops, for success in war, or for winning his woman, and will never notice that he might as well have flipped the coin, or its equivalent among savages, with the same results. To perceive contradiction is a rather late stage in the development of the human mind. Prejudice, moreover, tends, in this respect as in others, to revert to the status of savagery. Thus, if there is agreement that Christ was a great and notable figure, certain anti-Semites prove that he was a German or, at least, of Germanic stock somehow or somewhere. The fact that the Germans were nowhere near Palestine at the time of Christ does not trouble them. If they believe that he was a Jew, then they pen eloquent pages showing that on the whole he did the world a great deal of harm, that he founded a slave-religion, and that the noble Teuton should drop a worship of Semitic derivation. If they hate the capitalists, they show that the Jews founded the system of industrial life and point out statistically — and fantastically — that the Jews are the greatest capitalists of the world — that international banking is a Jewish contrivance, and that, even as Christ drove the money-changers out of the temple, so must they drive the Jews from the sacred German soil. On the other hand, if they hate Socialism and Communism, they will quickly point out that Karl Marx was a Jew, that all Reds and Communists are Jews, that atheism is the product of the Jewish mind, and that if this dreaded folk had its way, all wives as well as all property would be held in common. To disregard the few facts that contradict their point of view — that the bulk of the Jews everywhere are conservative, that in the main they live up to their ancient

customs or at least have departed from them no more than all other groups have departed from theirs, that Jewish family life for centuries has been held up by dispassionate observers as an ideal, that the Jew as a concrete human being cannot be both capitalist and Communist — all this is merely the natural outcome of that mental defect which can best be called slender-mindedness — the hall-mark of all fanatics.

They go to great lengths to prove that the Jew intellectually is really an inferior person. It would not do to persecute a highly intellectual, superior race. This would be to fly in the face of their own and world opinion. Therefore the Jews are sterile or, at best, second-rate mentally. Very readily they prove that he has borrowed from others. His religion he took from the Egyptians or the Babylonians, his Bible was really written by Greeks, and the great names that fill the pages of his re-entrance into the cultural scheme are merely the names of adapters and thieves of knowledge. If Spinoza was a Jew then he borrowed from Descartes or else was an atheist. They point out eloquently that the Jews have produced no Shakspere, Michelangelo, Beethoven, Newton, or Faraday. They introduce great names from England, Germany, France, from ancient Greece and Rome, and ask triumphantly: "Behold, where is your equivalent name?"

A fine compliment in reverse. The rest of the world pitted against less than one per cent of its population, and that percentage shut out for centuries from cultural opportunity! It is forgotten that England produced only one Shakspere, and the rest of the world none. Moreover, that

Shakspere never could have written his immortal works and become the greatest light of literature had he lived in the ghetto, been excluded from the stage, denied that free intercourse with his fellows from which come urbanity and genial intelligence.

At the time that Newton laboured, no Jew was admitted to any university, and the race was shut out from the common pool of knowledge. Prejudiced commentators point out what miracles the Greeks accomplished in the short period of their brilliancy and ask: "Where is the Jewish contribution of equal merit?" One might well ask: How many Dantes have come out of Italy? How many Goethes out of Germany? How many Aristotles and Platos out of Greece?

The arguments that the Jews borrowed from predecessors and from contemporaries — has no one borrowed from the Jews? — is rather amusing in view of the actual genesis of genius. The great man is disdainful of surface originality; he borrows right and left without compunction, on the instinctive theory that he will raise the drab original into matchless beauty. Shakspere did not invent his tales; he was in this respect a plagiarist of the highest order. Chaucer gave new form and new beauty, new pungency and new colour to tales that can be traced for two thousand years. Goethe took a legend which had run through mediæval folk-lore and had formed a theme for many a poet and writer; he did not pause to worry about the originality of his material, but worked the legend into immortal form. Dante summarized the Middle Ages. You can trace Pasteur back to van Leeuwenhoek through a chain of investigators, all of whom added something to the knowledge of minute forms. Dar-

win repeats a theme that traces back to Democritus and that his own grandfather enunciated. A tailor does not have to weave and dye the cloth that he fashions into a beautiful garment. Neither man nor culture is self-made. An over-conscious seeking for originality is often the mark of a little mind, and the product is frequently fantastic. The great mind penetrates the commonplace with its own fire and genius, so that the drabness disappears and a new creation is thereby fashioned.

We cannot, then, with any pretence to logic or fairness, scratch out the achievements of the Jew in modern times because they developed within the culture of Germany, France, England, Italy, or America. The Jews happen to be human beings who react with their environment as all living things do, who are influenced by the criteria of the social structure and social institutions into which they are born. It is not the thesis of this book that they are superhuman or that they belong to a race apart. The great races, amongst whom we proudly number the Jews, are different only in the minutiæ of character. Their general reactions are the same. Transplant the European of whatever stock to America, and in two or three generations he is an American, quite distinguishable from his forbears of whatever European land. All we can ask in regard to the Jew, as we shall ask specifically of the Jew in Germany, is this: Has he contributed his full share, or more, to the general culture of his country? Has he embellished its scroll of great names with a proportionate number of great names of his own? Has he helped to conquer disease? Has he extended the domains of science? Has he created in due measure beauty in the form of art, music, and literature?

The judgment whether he has, or has not, is not to be answered by prejudiced outsiders. A man must be judged, so says the Anglo-Saxon law, by a jury of his peers. The Jew cannot properly be evaluated by a half-crazy Otto Weininger who argues in a circle — a fantastic Jewish exhibitionist who committed suicide at twenty-six. He cannot be judged by those partisan anthropologists and pseudo-anthropologists who, like Chamberlain, set up the myth of blue-eyed, dolichocephalous, Teutonic demigods dwelling apart from the rest of the world in a fantasy of a new Chosen People — deities that the sober-eyed, genuine anthropologists have never been able to find. He cannot be judged by men who, like Voltaire, hate religion, and who look upon the Jew as the source of religious superstition. He cannot be evaluated by inheritors of the Christian ideology of the Middle Ages who say that since the race crucified Christ, the Christians must crucify the Jew.

Have we a jury of his peers — non-Jews whose verdict can be accepted with some degree of certainty as to its justice? It happens that we have. A man named Nobel established a system of prizes to be awarded yearly, by a jury of Scandinavian scholars, to those contributors in physics, chemistry, medicine, philosophy, and literature who in the opinion of the jury have been in their respective spheres most eminent or most valuable. Obviously this Scandinavian jury is not prejudiced in favour of the Jews. Obviously, too, such judgment as theirs, like the judgment of Paris as to the beauty of the three goddesses who paraded before him, is apt to be influenced by some endocrinal slant or some disposition towards blondes or brunettes. Furthermore, it is a contemporary judgment and may be overturned one hun-

dred and fifty years from now, or even sooner. It happens to be one of the best judgments of the kind that we have, and on the whole the world has not quarrelled too vigorously with its decisions.

There are, of course, other juries. There are histories of medicine, authoritatively written, discussing the great men of medical science. There are books on philosophy, physics, chemistry, mathematics, and literature in which is inscribed the judgment of the workers in these fields concerning their collaborators, rivals, and contemporaries. We shall turn to them later in evaluating the specific contributions of German Jews. The Frenchman Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu (not a Jew), in his *Israel among the Nations,* writing in 1895, asserted: "There can be no doubt that the Jews, the so-called Semites" — Renan, it will be recalled, in later life did not regard his early dichotomy between Aryan and Semite with such great favour — "have given proportionately more men of talent to our Aryan civilization than the Aryans themselves." He suggested, moreover, that a statistical investigation of the French Institute would yield interesting results in a nation that numbered but two or three Jews in a thousand inhabitants.

For the moment we turn again to the Nobel prize-winners. First a few statistics. Excluding China and Japan, whose culture has not as yet taken the form necessary to come within the purview of the Nobel committees, and including the cultural countries of Europe and America, we may state that the population that is eligible, by reason of opportunity and cultural trend, for Nobel prizes is, roughly, 400,000,000. In the midst of this great mass of men, women,

and children live dispersed some 10,000,000 Jews; for we must exclude those Jews who live in Asia Minor and throughout the non-cultural countries. This is to say, then, that some two and a half per cent of the possible aspirants are Jews. Moreover, during most of the period represented by the awards — namely, from 1901 to this year of grace and kindly feeling, 1933 — a large part of the Jews, probably 4,000,000, were in part excluded from cultural opportunity; as, for example, the Jews in Russia, until the Revolution. It would be fairer to rate the available Jewish aspirants at two per cent.

What now does the record show? It shows that approximately ten per cent of the Nobel laureates are Jews or of Jewish descent, which, according to German Nationalist pronunciamentos, is the same thing. As Dr. A. A. Roback, in his *Jewish Influence in Modern Thought,* trenchantly observes, this is "a higher proportion than that of any other nationality, with the exception of the Danes, who possess seven laureates. . . . Sweden runs a close second to Denmark with Norway practically at its side." Leaving out the pardonable prejudice of Scandinavians for Scandinavians, it is extraordinary that the Jews run neck and neck with the rest of Germany. That is, 10,000,000 Jews are culturally equal to the 60,000,000 Germans. They far outstrip America; in fact, two of the Nobel prize-winners who reflect glory upon the United States are Jews. One, Michelson, was born in Germany, but came under the educational influences of the United States when he had reached the mature age of one; another, Carrel, was born and educated in France. One of the Danes, the great Bohr, is a half-Jew. His father was

a distinguished Dane and his mother a Jew. These notables have contributed to every phase of human thought and have given the impetus to much invention and progress.[1]

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries are said to be characterized scientifically by an approach to both the minute and the universal. We find, correspondingly, that Jews have delved deep into the atom, and explored the recesses of the infinite; not merely as second-rate workers and adapters, but as mighty leaders of modern thought, invention, and research.

Michelson, Lippmann and Einstein make a triumvirate whose attainments rank with those of the greatest of human beings. Einstein is officially recognized as the greatest physicist of his time, and unofficially regarded as the qualitative successor of Newton, despite the fact that cardinals, politicians, and others cannot understand him.

Ehrlich, whom we shall consider later, was one of the greatest medical investigators of his era, not only enriching the boundaries of knowledge, but, through the remedies that he introduced, contributing to prolongation of life and relief of human suffering.

We are not concerned at this point to make an analysis

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[1] The complete list of Jewish winners of the various Nobel prizes, up to and including 1930, runs as follows:

In physics: Michelson, Lippmann, Einstein, Bohr, Franck, Hertz.

In chemistry: Willstätter and Haber.

In medicine: Barany, Ehrlich, Carrel, Myerhof, Landsteiner.

In peace: Asser and Fried.

In literature: Bergson and Heyse.

In physics, the Jews have a total of six out of thirty-four; in chemistry, two out of twenty-seven; in medicine, five out of twenty-nine; in literature, two out of thirty; in peace, two out of thirty-two.

of these general contributions of European and American Jews, since our main object is to analyse the contribution of the German Jew. We shall not deny, of course, that there is a debit side. We are dealing with human beings.

It is interesting to note that the people who are accused of being the instigators of the World War, just as in the Middle Ages they were accused of bringing the Black Plague, and as the Christians were thrown to the lions because presumably they started the great Roman conflagration, are represented in the Nobel peace awards by two names, Asser and Fried. Evidently the Scandinavians believe that the Jews are a peaceful people.

Winning a Nobel prize, however, or the winning of many Nobel prizes, is not in itself a criterion of the contributions of a man or a race. Four great Jewish figures, three of whom were brought up in the culture of Germany, or at least of the German language, and one in that of France, have contributed as largely to the thought of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as any of their contemporaries: Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Henri Bergson, and Albert Einstein. . . . Rightly or wrongly their influences have moulded both the thought and the deeds of our times. Bergson, accounted by many as the greatest philosopher of his time, we pass over, as he lies outside the limits of this small monograph.

If a man is great in the proportion in which he moulds the destinies and the thought of his own day and later times, Karl Marx is one of the greatest of men. We are not of those who believe that ideologies are mere words. We believe they enter into the deeds of those who reject them and motivate human conduct.

Thus, though one of us rejects the doctrines of Sigmund Freud, yet his greatness cannot be denied. The man is probably the most intellectually honest product of our times, in that he has uttered the most unpalatable words that any man has ever addressed to his generation. We judge him not alone by the specific forms of his doctrines, but by his influences. He has helped destroy obscenity so that sex can be envisaged objectively, scientifically, and without passion or prejudice; so that the fettered instinct may be studied anew and legislated for in a rational manner. He has stripped off the mask from the human being and shown a seething scene of conflicts, compelling even those of us who disagree with him to study our human being far more closely, far more objectively, than we had ever dared to do before.

Just as the ancient Jews supplied, for an absolutist world, three sacred books and a whole category of symbols, images, and ideas, so, in the relativist world of Einstein, the achievements of the modern Jews, and notably amongst them the German Jews, have altered the very dictionary of modern thought and expression.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEDICINE

> *"Aims, methods and persistency are common to the medical profession of all countries. On its flag is inscribed what should be the life rule of all nations — fraternity and solidarity."*
>
> — ABRAHAM JACOBI

THE GERMAN-JEWISH medical scientist has completely identified himself with the spirit of the wise words of Abraham Jacobi. He has united himself with the best traditions both in the technique and in the scientific attitude of medicine throughout the world, and especially has he regarded himself as a German. He has been both pupil and teacher, for the German Jews have sat at the feet of the German masters of medicine, and Germans have sat at the feet of the German Jews. If one were given a list of the achievements of the giants of German medicine, one would not be able to tell which were those of Jews and which those of Gentiles. In this field of German effort, the value of which has been incalculable, there has been a whole-hearted collaboration and a wonderful integration of effort and results. That there is no race in science is true of medicine,

as it is true of the whole glorious continuity of human thought.

In German medicine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Jewish names do not appear. It would have been impossible for the Jew to contribute, for he was still in the Dark Ages culturally and, perhaps, mentally. The universities had not yet opened their doors to him; he was still segregated in his ghetto. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the Jews appear, and from that time on a continuous row of great men and a powerful current of lesser men, of importance nevertheless, crowd the list of the most brilliant and most industrious workers in modern medicine.

The Main Trends of Modern Medicine

From the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day, medicine has worked its way from empiricism to science. First, it took the crude anatomy that had been built up slowly through the ages, which had received its greatest impetus in modern days from the genius of Vesalius, lent it the microscope, and transformed it into the science of histology. This is the microscopic study of the tissues of the body and ultimately of that unit of life, the cell. In fact, all biological science sooner or later leads to the cell, its anatomy, its chemistry, and its reaction to environment, whether of health or of disease.

The second direction it took was to introduce, refine, and amplify experiment in the study of the functions of the organism in health and disease; in a phrase, that of experimental physiology and pathology. Experiment is the main

road to understanding and progress in modern medicine. It has its roots in the general attitude of science: namely, that one must control all the approaches to a function in order to understand the result; that only through experiment can one establish cause and effect.

Third, modern medicine has sought zealously to identify the disease-carriers, the bacteria, which it established as the causes of the infectious diseases. It has sought not only to identify them, but to study in every way possible all their effects on the human body. The science of bacteriology has gone even further. It has considered disease as an interaction between two living creatures, the bacteria and the living cells of the body, and as its proper field of study equally the germ and the body cells.

Fourth, medicine has sought to explain and establish immunity. Immunity is the study of those natural resources that the body possesses against infectious diseases, these resources being the chemical and living agents that it pours out in response to an invasion by bacteria. Immunity also comprises, by a loose use of the word, those procedures by which the physician endeavours to heighten or to increase these natural resources through serums, antitoxins, vaccines, etc.

Fifth, the development of chemistry and physics has led to the utilization of the methods of these sciences in the problems of medicine. Medicine has become an applied science; that is, it takes both the concepts and the procedures of the basic sciences of physics, chemistry, and mathematics and applies their techniques and their theories to the study of the body. The use of the X-ray is an example of the use

of physical method. The development of biochemistry marks the approach of the sister science of chemistry. Just as general science in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries built up the theory of the atom and the electron, the body has been studied in relationship to the chemical and physical processes that underlie its fundamental functions; what, for example, the units of digestion are; how sugar is utilized; what takes place within the minute living unit of the cell itself; how oxygen and iron interact within the tissues; and what the chemical and physical background of all muscular activity is. This study goes deep into the fundamentals of life and is the latest type of physiology and pathology.

Sixth, there has occurred as a result of the increasing avalanche of knowledge the natural response — the growth of specialization. This has happened everywhere throughout the social scheme and undoubtedly has taken place within medical practice to a degree as complete as that within the industrial field. Sometimes the result has been comical; often enough it has provided a basis for the wit of both the doctor and the patient. Undoubtedly, it has heightened the cost of medical care. On the whole, however, this specialization has been enormously productive of knowledge and skill. There have appeared in the field of medical practice men who have built up internal medicine, neurology, psychiatry, obstetrics, dermatology, ophthalmology, radiology, and so on, down a list that comprises all the main organs of the body.

One cannot, of course, classify the men who have worked in medicine in the same way that we have classified the avenues of its main efforts. There is a constant interlocking.

A man may be both physicist and physiologist; bacteriologist and clinician. On the whole, medical opinion gives the highest place and the greatest value to those who have done the fundamental scientific work, have made the discoveries and introduced the new techniques; it places in a lesser rank the clinical men — those who deal with the patients; those who are, so to speak, the doctors in the community, whether as specialists or as general practitioners. Therefore we give more space and consideration to the original workers.

Some Outstanding Men

Garrison, to whom we are indebted for much of this material, says in his fine text-book on *The History of Medicine* that Jakob Henle (1809–85), who was professor of anatomy at Göttingen, was the greatest German histologist of his times, and one of the greatest anatomists of all times. He further states that " altogether the histological discoveries of Henle take rank with the anatomical discoveries of Vesalius." This is borne out when one studies the contribution of this remarkable man, who was so brilliant in achievement and so lovable in character. Henle was a pupil of the great Johannes Müller and a teacher of many of the most distinguished medical men in every European country and America.

Henle's name is perpetuated in the very tissues of the body, for it has been a habit of medical science to give the name of the discoverer to the *structure*. He was the first to describe the minute anatomy of the kidney, the smooth muscles in the walls of the blood-vessels, and the sheath of the hair-follicle. He first described completely and empha-

sized the importance of the lining of the skin, the intestines, and almost all the glands and tracts of the body. His labours are incorporated in all subsequent work, and form part of the heritage of every medical man and every student of the human organism.

It is impossible to keep from speaking in superlatives in regard to this man. Thus Garrison states of his handbook on *Systematic Anatomy* that the " sections on the ligaments, on the muscles, on the viscera, and on the vascular nervous systems are of epoch-making importance."

Henle was intimate with such personages as Humboldt, Gustav Magnus, and Felix Mendelssohn, and he " won love and admiration by his sincerity and charm." All in all, it may be said of Henle that if there were to be selected ten great names in the whole realm of histology and anatomy, in the culture of the entire world from the beginning of history down to our own times, his name would have to be included.

We do not intend to make a catalogue of the names of the great Jewish men in medicine or to give any detailed biographies. In the field of histology there are innumerable lesser lights. In fact, of any great man in medicine it may be said that he represents the crest of a wave of lesser men, of men who have just missed the discovery that made him famous.

Thus, Robert Remak (1815–65) is given an honourable and important place in the establishment of embryology. He described a type of nerve fibre which has been named after him. He discovered the cells that initiate the heart-beat. In a very direct way he was one of the founders of modern neurology, as well as a clinician of salient importance.

Bacteriology and Pathology

Probably the greatest names in modern German medicine in relationship to bacteriology and pathology — that is, the study of disease agents and the disease processes — are Johannes Müller, Robert Koch, Rudolf Virchow, Paul Ehrlich, Julius Cohnheim, Ferdinand Julius Cohn, and, in the opinion of the writers, Karl Weigert. If we took the outstanding names in the whole of the modern period of science in this great general subject, Pasteur, the Frenchman, would probably head the list, but no list would exclude Koch, the German; Lister, the Englishman; and Ehrlich, the German Jew.

The Encyclopædia Britannica states that the German Jew, Ferdinand Julius Cohn (1829–98), is "the founder of bacteriology." He was the first Jew to become a full professor in Prussia. He studied every phase of the development of bacteria, traced their life history so far as the crude instruments of his day permitted, and improved the microscope. Above all, he helped destroy the concept of spontaneous generation that had reigned up to his time; that is, the notion that life could arise somehow from inanimate nature. With Schleiden and Schwann he paved the way for the epoch-making work of Pasteur.

Paul Ehrlich (1854–1915) dominated the medical thought of his day. He worked in the golden era of German medicine. Discoveries were being made on every side, and to Germany flocked the zealous medical men of every land. We can trace the roots of his researches into those of many distinguished predecessors, and the result of his work is

part of the everyday equipment and effort of every practising physician and every research-worker to the present day.

Perhaps it will be clearer to divide his work up somewhat as follows:

With Karl Weigert, he practically founded the analysis by dye-stuffs of the tissues of the body — a basic approach of all biological work. The general hypothesis of both Weigert's and Ehrlich's work was the idea that every cell and every tissue had a specific chemical composition, and that both for microscopic study and for curative treatment this principle could be used. The smallest bit of the human body is such a jumble of cells and tissues that unless these are dyed and coloured in various ways, so that each type is distinguished from every other, no real and detailed understanding is possible. This work requires extraordinary patience and brilliant technical skill. Through his great work in introducing dye-stuffs by which each type of blood-cell takes on a special colour-guise Ehrlich founded the science of the study of the blood-cells of the body. Hæmatology, as the science of the blood-cells and blood-forming tissues is called, enters into the everyday diagnosis and treatment of disease, and although Ehrlich's technique has been somewhat modified in its essentials, it is used in every hospital and clinic in the world today. Hosts of lesser men have built on the foundation he laid.

Because of this type of work, which ramified in many directions, he has been called a " great pioneer in merging descriptive cellular pathology into experimental intracellular chemistry "; that is, he made it possible in the un-

derstanding of the body and of disease to pass from the gross to the minute.

This would be distinction enough for any man, but there are two other great achievements that can be credited to him. First, he introduced the theory of immunity based on chemistry, known as the Ehrlich side-chain hypothesis, which gave an enormous impetus to the development of serums for the treatment of disease and to their standardization. This theory has now been in some measure discarded, yet it was one of the most fruitful instruments of medical science. The working hypothesis forms a basic approach in all science, and Ehrlich's immunity theory deserves an honourable place in the armoury of man against disease.

The world will remember and honour him for another achievement. Syphilis is one of the most prevalent diseases of mankind. Unlike the great scourges, the Black Death and smallpox, which are periodic visitants, it is a constant, ever-present destroyer, not only of the living, but also of the unborn. The twentieth century saw three great achievements in the understanding and the conquest of syphilis. The first is that of Schaudinn, an Austrian, who discovered the organism of syphilis. The second, of as great importance, is the work of Ehrlich, who carried on in an unbelievably patient manner the task of discovering a chemical treatment, called 606, because the remedy finally settled upon represented the six hundred and sixth set of experiments. He was greatly helped in this work by Alfred Bertheim (1879–1914), a German-Jewish chemist who had previously worked on the arsenical preparation, atoxyl. While this remedy has

not lived up to the hope that it would cure in one dose, it enormously modifies for the better the course of syphilis, and, even more important, renders the afflicted individual non-contagious to others. This alone would earn Ehrlich a rank with the great benefactors of mankind. The third name in this conquest of syphilis is August von Wassermann (1866–1925), also a Jew, who introduced the elaborate and brilliant test known by his name. It is interesting to note that the Wassermann test has been superseded by the Kahn test, which was developed by an American whose race is well indicated by his name.

Karl Weigert (1845–1904), although recognized by all the leaders of medicine as a great German scientist, is scarcely known outside of a select circle. Yet both his ideas and his technical achievements place him in a rank perhaps just below that of the great geniuses of medicine. On the technical side Weigert is practically the founder of differential staining, that is, that technique by which various tissues are made to take a separate colouring reaction of physical-chemical nature, so that on the microscopic slide one will be able to tell the difference between, let us say, the fatty envelope that covers the nerve-fibres, the myelin sheath, and the contained nerve-fibre itself, the axone. The importance of this approach can hardly be over-estimated. Without it, all the detailed study of neuropathology and neuro-anatomy which was carried on in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and is still important in our own times, would have been delayed indefinitely.

There is an international group of men who have wrought well in this difficult task of differentiating the nervous sys-

tem — Marchi, and the Italian, Golgi; Cajal and Hortega, the Spaniards; and Bielschowski, the German, are notable scientific workers; but the pioneer in this great field was Weigert.

Moreover, Weigert's law of inflammation, although scarcely known to the average medical man, still holds true as the foundation-stone of a good deal of the work done in medicine. He stated that a local injury caused by whatever agent, whether infection or physical violence, produces a local death of tissue, which starts reparative processes in excess of the requirements. This is the logical basis not only of the antitoxin and serum treatments, but, in more specific form, of all protein therapy, from the treatment of hay-fever up to, as Garrison says, the treatment of syphilis of the nervous system by malaria. The malaria treatment is one of the recent triumphs of medicine and was inaugurated by Wagner von Jauregg, awarded a Nobel prize for this contribution.

Weigert lived an ascetic life. It is stated that he was a sort of recluse, but he had his own intimate friends. It is amusing and pleasing to note that when he would, he could entertain his friends most marvellously with his gifts of mimicry and ventriloquism.

Julius Cohnheim (1839–84), described as the most eminent of Rudolf Virchow's pupils, became professor of pathology at Kiel, where he taught many distinguished Germans. Cohnheim had a theory concerning the pathology of inflammation that was directly opposite to the teaching of his master, Virchow. Virchow encouraged his pupil to go ahead with his work — a tribute to the magnanimity of scientists

—and Cohnheim established the very important fact that the essential feature of any inflammation is the passage of the white blood-cells through the walls of the tiniest blood-vessels, and that pus and pus-cells are formed in this way from the blood. His monograph on inflammation thus amplified the understanding of pathology. He was also one of the founders of *experimental* pathology. In a classical piece of work he transmitted tuberculosis to the cornea of the eye, and from this dates a long record of similar researches that have occupied laboratories throughout the world.

The influence of Cohnheim spread into every country. Ehrlich was a pupil of his; and the Americans Welch and Councilman, who became the deans of American medicine, sat at his feet.

The importance of this little group of Jewish medical men in the golden period of German medicine is emphasized by a story. Robert Koch discovered the tubercle bacillus and introduced the modern system of growing bacteria into medicine. When he had worked out the life history of the germ that causes anthrax, he gave a three-day demonstration of his methods and results in the presence of Cohn, Weigert, Auerbach, Traube, and Cohnheim, all of whom were Jews, and who unanimously declared that Koch's was the greatest bacteriological discovery yet made. Cohn immediately published Koch's memoirs, and Weigert turned over to Koch his method of staining bacteria, which has been of vital importance to bacteriologists.

Perhaps there has lived no group of men more characterized by candour, honesty, and selfless devotion to science

than Cohn, Cohnheim, Weigert, and Ehrlich. In this, however, they were not in the least unlike their great German colleagues Virchow, Müller, and Koch. In fact, Virchow, at the height of the anti-Semitic fever of the 1880's, valiantly defended the Jews of his day. How could he as an honest man do otherwise? They were his colleagues, his pupils, and his collaborators.

Endocrinology

The whole marvellous science of endocrinology, or the study of the internal glands, dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century. It began with the classic work of Claude Bernard, who first studied the functions of the pancreas and the whole question of the use of sugar in the body; then it ran through a long chain of investigators, culminating in the great work of Banting with the introduction of insulin in the treatment of diabetes.

A goodly part of the impetus of this work came from the writings and experiments of Moritz Schiff (1822–96), a German Jew by birth, who taught in Switzerland and Italy as a professor of physiology. He was a man of arbitrary temperament and of great originality in the " minutiæ of experimental procedure, displaying almost a prophetic insight into many things of present moment." He was one of those men who are great " anticipators "; that is, their work foreshadows later work which becomes the standard of experiment and belief. Thus, he almost discovered and did predict the existence of vasodilator nerves — that is, those nerves which increase the calibre of the blood-vessels and which are all-important in the intimate physiology of the organism. He

anticipated the work of Pavlov, who later laid the foundation of the whole physiology of the digestive secretion and who founded the school of the conditioned reflex in psychology. The list of things he actually did in neurology and physiology is stupendous.

Schiff's most important contribution was his work on the thyroid gland, by which he showed, first, that removal of the thyroid plunges the individual into a deplorable dementia, called cretinism, and that grafting thyroid or the injection of thyroid juices restores the individual to health and vitality. The importance of this is reflected throughout the whole field of gland treatment, which has become so conspicuous in our day, and to which field men of high rank — Abel, Takamine, Pavlov, Bayliss, Starling, Harvey Cushing, and investigators all over the world — have devoted their lives.

Although Benedikt Stilling (1810–79) was mainly an anatomist and surgeon, he was the first to operate in Germany on the ovary and contributed to the subject of its functions. In addition, he made a classic study of the physiology of the spinal cord and was the first to describe and make formal the vasomotor functions — that is, those functions of regulation of the calibre of the blood-vessels which have played an increasing role in our understanding of the reactions of the body in health and disease. It can be safely stated that he is not nearly as much appreciated as he should be, although every history of medicine gives him an honourable place.

One of the latest achievements in this whole field of the function of the internal glands, those little managers of the

body which have become almost the basis of a new metaphysics and psychology, is the work of Bernard Zondek (1891–), a German Jew, and his collaborators. The introduction of the Zondek-Ascheim test for pregnancy makes it possible to diagnose this interesting and important condition almost from the day when the fertilization takes place. It is based on the fact that the anterior lobe of a little structure in the brain, called the pituitary body, is in constant relationship with the ovaries in regulating the physiological life of woman, and that when pregnancy takes place, so great an excess of "antuitrin," as it is called, is thrown into the organism that it appears in the urine. This fact forms the basis of a brilliant and almost invaluable test. It points the way to a regulation of reproduction which may revolutionize the sexual relations.

Zondek's latest achievement adds brilliantly to our understanding of the phenomenon of sleep. It is curious that this function, which occupies one-third of life, is scarcely understood. Zondek, however, has shown that the body bromidizes itself so as to produce sleep, and in this one contribution he has opened the doors to a logical and physiological handling of sleep, fatigue, and associated subjects.

Certain Important Physiologists

Of physiology Huxley said: "Its subject matter is a large moiety of the universe. Its position is midway between the physico-chemical and the social sciences."

As was stated before, it is impossible to separate the medical scientists into categories. All medical research finally reaches physiology. Any modern work is intimately associ-

ated with chemistry and physics. The men of whom we speak briefly were in the main physiologists. There was no great and outstanding genius amongst them, yet each man contributed very importantly to science, and each may be classed as a brilliant worker.

Gustav Magnus (1802–70), chemist and physicist, was born in Berlin. He was an intimate of the great men of his day, especially Henle and Mendelssohn. In 1837 he made the great discovery that all tissues "breathe," in that they take in oxygen and throw out carbon dioxide.

Hardly to be classified as a secondary man, but not quite reaching the ranks of men like Ehrlich, Cohnheim, and their group, is the early worker, Ludwig Traube (1816–76), who was one of the first Jews to be officially recognized. "He early made his mark as the founder of experimental pathology." He was a pupil of Purkinje, J. Miller, and Johannes Müller, and he himself was the teacher of many distinguished men. The list of his researches comprises almost the whole field of medicine. His book on *Experimental Pathology* was a classic, widely quoted and read.

Following him we place Ludimar Hermann (1838–1914), who was professor of physiology at Königsberg. He did notable work on the metabolism of muscle, thus paving the way for the more recent and brilliant work of Hill and Meyerhof. He is an important link in the history of physiology.

Julius Bernstein (1839–1917), professor of physiology at Heidelberg and Halle, was one of the most notable of the Du Bois-Reymond pupils. Like so many of the Jewish workers, he paid particular attention to the nerves and

muscles of the body, especially gaining renown, following his teacher, on the electric reactions and electrical phenomena of these organs.

Rudolf Heidenhain (1834–97) was professor of physiology and histology in Breslau. His great contribution was that he thought of all the activities of the glands of the body as due to chemical processes taking place within the cell itself. He emphasized the intracellular activity rather than the mechanical physical properties, although both are important. Altogether he was a fundamental physiologist, being one of the first to do vital staining; he studied the kidneys in this manner. He was a great toxicologist; that is, he investigated the action of poisons on the human being.

Hermann Munk (1839–1912) was professor of physiology in the veterinary college in Berlin. Together with a group of brilliant German and English physiologists, he made fundamental contributions to the subject of brain localization and brain activity. He was one of the first to describe the motor cortex, and did notable work on the thyroid gland and on the mechanism of internal secretion. His fame rests fundamentally, however, on his work on the functions of the cortex of the brain.

Hugo Kronecker (1839–1914), professor at Leipzig, was a pupil of Helmholtz and Wundt, the great psychologist, as well as of Traube and Ludwig. He invented many instruments of great importance. He was one of those handy men who know how to make tools to fit any purpose. One of the most important things he did was to establish with Bowditch, the American physiologist, what is known as the all-or-none principle of heart action; that is to say, he showed

that the heart did not respond to a stimulus in a partial manner — either it did not respond at all, or it responded with all its force. This has been one of the leading principles in the understanding of the heart since that day. Kronecker was a highly social person. It is stated of him that " he was the soul of Ludwig's laboratory and a lifelong promoter of cordial relations amongst scientific men." As part of this activity he helped found many institutes throughout the world.

The merit of Jacques Loeb (1859–1927) is that he adhered to the noble program laid down by Helmholtz, and tried to interpret physiology in terms of physics and chemistry. He was an out-and-out materialist so far as the physiology of the human being is concerned. This great man was born in Germany, but, owing to German-Jewish conditions, migrated to the United States in 1891, winding up his career as head of the Department of Experimental Biology in the Rockefeller Institute. His work dealt a heavy blow to the theory of instincts as governing the life of the lower animals, because he showed that they responded to light and to chemical and physical influences in a mechanical way, and thus brought into the science of life the concept of *tropisms,* which is now a commonplace of psychology. His position in this matter even led him to the position that the function of the seed of the male in fertilizing the egg is largely mechanical; and in 1889 he fertilized the eggs of the sea-urchin merely by changing the concentration of salt or sugar in which the eggs were placed. His work on artificial fertilization marks an epoch in the whole understanding of the generation of life.

Like most scientific men, he abhorred war and " his com-

ment on the World War, ' the Simians,' is characteristic of the man."

Rudolph Magnus (1872–1927) was professor of pharmacology at the University of Utrecht. His work on the physiology of the nervous system was for the purpose of determining the principles that underlie posture and movement. In this he ranks with the great Englishman Sherrington, as one of the founders of modern neurophysiology.

Biochemistry

Physiological chemistry started in modern times with Emil Fischer, a Teutonic German of noble type, whose researches led to a deeper understanding of the human body in health and disease. Following this great man and, in our opinion, occupying a place in the understanding of the chemistry of the organism second to no other group, are several German Jews whose work starts where Fischer left off. They follow the energy of the atoms into the inmost recesses of each cell of the body; they study, together with distinguished collaborators of all races, the sources of muscular action, the generation of heat, the role of oxygen and iron; they link up all life as operating finally and fundamentally on one universal plane.

A list of the men who have worked with distinction and brilliance in this field leads us into every country and to men of all races: Abderhalden, Embden; Dakin; Benedict, Folin, Van Slyke, and McCullum; Osborne and Mendel; Haldane, Hill, and his school of England; and many others. In this field the German Jews have had three Nobel prize-winners.

First in this distinguished group of German Jews we place Richard Willstätter (1872–), director of the chemical divi-

sion of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, who was in great measure responsible for the superior position of the German dye industry. Probably the greatest living chemist, he has turned his attention to the chemistry of the living organism. In 1915 he received the Nobel prize, which can almost be termed an incident to this man of many decorations. In 1925, on account of the anti-Semitic feeling of the faculty of philosophy of Munich, he was forced to leave the university despite the wish of most of the people connected with it. His researches have embraced and enriched all branches of organic chemistry. In medicine and biology he is renowned, however, for his studies concerning cholesterol, one of the most important of the fats of the body, and the cycle of carbon dioxide. He revealed how this important substance weaves in and out of the organism. He is world-famous for his researches in the hæmoglobin of the blood and in what corresponds to this, the chlorophyll of plants. He has made important contributions to the chemistry of leaves and fruits. He has helped our understanding of those mysterious substances called the ferments and enzymes, which do so much of the work of the organism.

The contribution of Otto Meyerhoff (1884–), born in Hanover, may be indicated by the title of his first publication of importance, *The Dynamics of Living Phenomena;* in other words, he investigates the chemistry especially of the muscle. In 1922 the great English physiologist Hill and Meyerhoff received jointly the Nobel prize in recognition of their pre-eminence in this field. As worked out by Hill and Meyerhoff, or, rather, as their researches dovetailed,

muscle action, which is the basis of all conduct, goes on somewhat as follows: Sugar is taken into the body and is shifted to the muscle. As the muscle contracts, the carbohydrate into which the sugar is turned is burned, and lactic acid is formed. This lactic acid is then changed to carbohydrate again in the resting phase of the muscle. If the muscle action is too frequent or too vigorous, lactic acid accumulates and cannot be brought back to its carbohydrate form, and then fatigue results.

When one reads the account of the experiments performed, one cannot but marvel at the skill, the patience, and the high devotion which Meyerhoff (and, for that matter, Hill) demonstrated as he attacked this great problem. Some day, and probably soon, it will be possible to get at the conduct of the human being in terms of his muscle chemistry.

In this connection, it should be noted that in 1864 Heidenhain, whom we have previously discussed, noted a remarkable fact about a muscle removed from the body: that to a certain extent the excised muscle adjusts itself to the load that it must lift. In other words, quite different from any machine, "the single muscle fiber somehow senses its job and adjusts itself accordingly; the whole organism can do no better."

Otto H. Warburg (1883–), biochemist, who comes naturally by his scientific ability as the son of a famous physicist, Emil Warburg, was university professor in Berlin. He has done notable work in the explanation of the metabolism, or life process, of carcinoma, or cancer, and especially in relationship to the use of iron. For this he was awarded the Nobel prize in 1922.

As Warburg describes it, the iron cycle, as it is called, is perhaps the most dramatic of all living activities. Iron is the great catalytic agent, that is, it belongs to that group which, while they do not contribute of their substance to life, become the active agent in bringing about the chemical and biological interchanges essential to life. Within each cell in the plant and animal world iron is present, and this carries and regulates the oxidation process inside the cell. In all creatures in whom there is blood circulation, it holds the oxygen taken in from the air and then releases it to the iron in the cell, so that it may bring about the slow combustion that is life. There is a flow of iron from the soil to the plant and to the animal, without which oxidation, whether as animal heat, animal motion, animal feeling, or thought, would be impossible.

The classic aphorism of biology: *"Ohne Phosphor, kein Gedank,"* should now be changed, as a result of Warburg's work on iron, to: *"Ohne Eisen, kein Gedank"*!

Carl Neuberg (1877–), professor in Berlin, received in 1922 the Emil Fischer medal of the German Chemical Society. He did notable work on the biochemical reactions of light and on sugar and albumen metabolism and found several ferments of importance. Also, besides writing notable books, he has busied himself in the foundation of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

The Jews in the Specialties

Within the limits set for this monograph it would be impossible to enumerate in detail the achievements of other German Jewish men of medicine. They have entered into every specialty of the science and have contrib-

uted either in outstanding manner or, at least, importantly to their subject matter.

We mention a few: Moritz Heinrich Romberg (1795–1873), the outstanding German neurologist of his day, and one of the greatest of all countries, has a long and distinguished list of German-Jewish colleagues in this field of medicine, including such notables as Ernst Remak (1849–1911); Hermann Oppenheim (1855–1919); Max Isserlin (1879–); Ludwig Edinger (1855–).

German medicine did not originate Psychoanalysis, which is a product of the great Viennese Jew, Sigmund Freud. The development of psychoanalysis, likewise, was the work of Viennese Jews. Karl Abraham, Hans Sachs, Wilhelm Reich, and a long list of Berlin analysts have, however, done their share in making this new approach to the human mind a part of the working technique of medicine.

A notable research-worker in the diseases of the skin was Paul Gerson Unna (1850–), who discovered the cause of soft chancre and did important work on leprosy, tuberculosis, and syphilis. It is a commonplace of medical history that he and Moritz Kaposi (1827–1902), an Austrian Jew, were the two greatest figures in modern dermatology.

The founders and the most important personages in otology, the study of the diseases of the ears, were Jews. Although not Germans, but Austrian Jews, they were closely affiliated in every cultural way with Germany. The names of Politzer and Barany are, so to speak, part of the working and intellectual equipment of every otologist, since both instruments and diagnostic techniques bear those names. For his special contribution, Barany was awarded, in 1914, a Nobel prize, in the division of medicine.

Second only to von Gräfe, who was the greatest ophthalmologist, are Julius Hirschberg (1843–1925) and Ernst Fuchs (1851–). With them we class Richard Liebereich (1830–1917), a pupil of von Gräfe, an inventor of instruments, and altogether a stimulating teacher and writer. He was a brother of Oscar Liebereich (1839–1908), a chemist and pharmacologist, to whom we owe the introduction of chloral and who helped to introduce the scientific manufacture and testing of hypnotic drugs, one of the notable efforts of German medical chemistry.

Julius Jacobson (1828–89) improved the surgical treatment of cataracts and originated the operative treatment of trachoma. He was a very important practitioner as well.

A miscellaneous group of great importance includes Ismar Boas (1858–), professor at the University of Berlin, who with the great Ewald, founded the specialty of gastroenterology, the science of the diseases of the digestive tract; and James Adolf Israel (1848–1926), one of the great surgeons, who specialized in surgery of the kidneys.

The internist Herman Senator (1834–1911) was a remarkable figure and made important investigations in diabetes, diseases of the kidneys, and the general pathology and treatment of fever.

Albert Neisser (1855–1916), who discovered the organism of gonorrhœa in 1879, was an outstanding bacteriologist and clinician.

Albert Fränkel (1848–1916) did important work on the cause of pneumonia and helped link up that disease with the diplococcus of pneumonia.

Pædiatrics

The specialty of children's diseases, pædiatrics, is in large measure the product of German Jews. In this connection we mention Eduard Heinrich Henoch (1829–1910), nephew of Romberg, who described purpura, a disease of the blood. He was one of the earliest and most important contributors to pædiatrics, and wrote brilliant books.

Heinrich Finkelstein (1865–), professor in Berlin and a director of one of the great German pædiatric institutions, is a highly original investigator who brought new principles into infant feeding. At the present time he is perhaps the leading pædiatrist of Germany, if not of the world.

There is the unique figure of Abraham Jacobi (1830–1919), who took part in the German Revolution of 1848 and then came to the United States. He is, without doubt, the father of American pædiatrics, and gave it the impetus it needed by his wit, learning, and wisdom. For a long time prior to his death, he was one of the most honoured and revered figures in American medicine.

One of the notables of English medicine, who stems from German Jewry, is Felix Semon (1848–1925). Born and educated in Germany, a student of the great German medical men, he migrated to England, where he became one of its leading laryngologists. His autobiography is a document that reveals how deeply wounding anti-Semitism may be; it shows, too, that conversion and emigration become ways of escape.

We can find no authoritative biography of Bela Schick. He is a German Jew, now living in the United States, who

introduced the test known by his name for susceptibility to diphtheria, as well as the preventive treatment for that disease. His may not be a great contribution in point of view of originality; it is more than great in its usefulness, for it has helped practically to stamp out one of the most dreaded of the diseases of childhood.

Summary

What we have intended to show is this: not that the Jews are the most important figures in medicine, although it cannot be denied that their entire history reveals in them a decided genius for this subject. They appear on the scene of modern medicine, as they appear on the scene of all modern science, late, when a great deal of the fundamental work has been done. They then become important, and among them are outstanding and leading figures in the onward march of the profession. They are innovators, discoverers, theorists, systematizers, and appliers, thus fulfilling all the requirements of science. They furnish more than their full quota of great and talented medical men. What is most important, however, in our thesis is this: that whether they operate in Germany or elsewhere, they collaborate with their fellows; they become integrated in a complete way with the movements of their times, both as followers and as leaders. Certainly the outstanding men among them have noble characters as well as high achievements. Whatever unscientific prejudice may think and say, they are respected and admired by their peers, who look upon them, not as Jews, but as great doctors of medicine.

CHAPTER FIVE

PHYSICS—MATHEMATICAL PHYSICS—CHEMISTRY

> *"The man who has discovered an idea which allows us to penetrate, to whatever slight degree, a little more deeply the eternal arcanum of nature has been granted a great favour. If, in addition, he experiences the best help, sympathy, and recognition of his time, he attains almost more happiness than one man can bear."*
>
> — ALBERT EINSTEIN

To judge the value of any contributor to a subject so abstruse and so difficult as mathematical physics, the layman must abide by the opinions of the peers of the scientist. The opinions of publicists, dramatists, cardinals, and statesmen, all added together, reach the sum of nothing in this matter. It may be possible for a layman to appreciate painting. He can there fall back on the age-old slipshodism: "I know what I like." However speciously this principle may apply to painting and the arts, it does not apply to physics in the slightest degree. The average intelligent man or woman

cannot solve simple mathematical problems, let alone understand those complicated and brilliant flights of the human mind which present themselves in physical mathematics or Riemannian hypergeometry.

Moreover, although the conclusions of these great men may seem opposed to common sense, it is pertinent to remark that common sense can only operate, and there probably very poorly, in the sphere of common living. It has no claims to be trusted in anything else. To the common sense of the day of Columbus, it was absurd to think — it was unimaginable — that the world was round. Why did not people fall off, if that was the case? . . . It was flying in the face of common sense and one's eyes to state that the sun was millions of miles away and infinitely larger than the earth. One could see that it was smaller, and not very far away. . . . How can one cure a disease by giving a man that disease, as in vaccination? . . . And how can a thing heavier than air, like the aeroplane, fly through it? What a crazy notion! What the creative mind achieves, the common sense of a later day accepts as part of its equipment, so that it becomes "natural" for the world to be round, for solar systems to exist, and for men to fly. The objections which common sense has always raised to all the great achievements of the human mind and ingenuity take from it the capacity to judge and leave it to accept or reject only by results.

Method of Mathematical Physics

There is a grand synthesis in the approach of modern physics to its problems. For we find experiment and induc-

tive science going hand in hand with mathematics and deductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning alone, which was the approach throughout the Middle Ages, creates a magnificent structure, which, however, is so intermingled with phantasy and topsyturviness as to be almost repellent to the modern mind. Experiment alone does a very creditable job in what might be called the lesser affairs of science. United with deductive reasoning and mathematics, it occurs first in the history of mankind with Galileo and Newton, and as exemplified in the work of physics from that time on, it accomplishes the stupendous.

D'Abro, to whose book on the *Evolution of Scientific Thought from Newton to Einstein* we are greatly indebted, states the case substantially as follows: — Experimenters establish certain definite facts and deduce precise numerical relationships, as, for example, the magnitude of the intensity of electric currents flowing along wires and the intensity and direction of the magnetic field surrounding those wires, as Faraday, for instance, did. Then the mathematical physicist enters upon the scene and translates the numerical relationships observed by the experimenter into mathematical form, as did Maxwell on the basis of Faraday's work. " The significance of a theory of mathematical physics is to allow us to foresee and foretell physical phenomena. In a practical way it suggests experiments which might never have been thought of and permits us to anticipate new relationships and new laws, and to discover new facts. From the philosophical point of view, by establishing a rational connection between seemingly unconnected phenomena, it enables us to detect the harmony and unity of

nature, which lie concealed under an outward appearance of chaos."

A most beautiful example of the prophetic power of mathematics as it assumes that nature works on a mathematical basis is the work of Balmer. Angstrom, the physicist, working on the spectrum of luminous hydrogen, found the wave-lengths of certain lines which occur in that spectrum to be 6,562, 4,860, 4,340, and 4,101 ten-millionths of a millimetre. Thirty-four years later, after prodigious labour, Balmer developed the formula for these lines, the formula being $\frac{n^2 h}{n^2 - 2^2}$, which means nothing unless one has followed the reasoning and analysis by which it was discovered. He then predicted where other lines would be found, and since his time the number of known lines in the hydrogen spectrum observed in the light of white stars has increased to nearly fifty, and all of them conform to Balmer's law. Moreover, in 1913 Bohr, applying the principles of Planck and Einstein, found that Balmer's formula applied to the most general facts and laws of physics, which discovery in its turn opened the way to new experiments and discoveries by the physicists.

In order to make the position of the German-Jewish physicists and mathematical physicists clear, it will be necessary to place their work to some extent in the continuum of science in which it belongs. Thus, we turn first to certain theories and facts concerning the spectrum and light.

Newton first analysed sunlight into its constituent colours by making it pass through a triangular glass prism. Thus he was able to disperse it into colours of the rainbow: red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. As Dar-

row states, "The visible color scale represents an octave of electro-magnetic waves."

In 1800 the great Sir William Herschel (1738–1822) first showed that to the left of the red of the spectrum, and invisible, was a group of waves which he detected by the use of a very sensitive thermometer. From his day on, these have been called the infra-red waves. This discovery opened the door to a tremendous field of work, which can only be stated as representing perhaps the most colossal of human achievements. These infra-red rays have an important practical use at the present time, in that they constitute one of the most potent of the ways of treating diseases of the bones and joints and for sending heat deep into the organism.[1]

At a somewhat later period than Herschel a group of notable workers discovered the ultra-violet rays — that is, those rays which lie next to the violet on the visible side of the spectrum. With these we are not at present concerned, and so we now turn to the work of Heinrich Rudolf Hertz.

Heinrich Rudolf Hertz (1857–94) was professor of technical physics at Bonn. This celebrated man was born of a Jewish father of German birth. That the genius in his family comes from the paternal side is borne out by the fact that his brother's son, Gustav Hertz, of whom we shall speak later, won a Nobel prize for physics.

To understand the work of Hertz it is necessary to go

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[1] We wish to emphasize that we have not included Sir William Herschel as a Jew. Holden, his American biographer, infers that he was, on what seems rather weak ground. At any rate, if there was a Jewish ancestry, it was quite diluted by the time Herschel himself appears upon the scene of human activity. It would be assuming too much to believe that it had anything to do with his achievements.

back to Faraday and Maxwell, although if we were to trace in any adequate way the work of Hertz, we should find that his, like all other scientific achievement of any importance, is the apex of a great collaboration. The great man is the great collaborator and synthesizer of other men's beginnings. Michael Faraday was one of the greatest scientific investigators of the nineteenth century. This self-trained man devoted himself to experiments that led him slowly to the discovery of induced currents, which is perhaps the most fundamental principle in the history of electrical progress — the discovery that an electric current can be induced in a circuit by a current in another wire or by a magnet started the electrical era which is now incorporated in the very tissues of modern society.

Then Maxwell, a mathematician and physical philosopher of the highest rank, took these discoveries of Faraday's and gave them a mathematical and theoretical basis, linking them up finally with the velocity of light. He showed that not only were electro-magnetic disturbances transmitted along wires, but that they were radiated into space and that these had the properties of ordinary electric currents which flowed in close conducting circuits. He also concluded that since these electric currents in space had the same velocity as light, it might be the same form of energy, and thus led the way to one of the great formulations of science: namely, that light and electro-magnetic energy are the same. Maxwell built up a lofty theoretical edifice and pointed the way for the experimenter. The experimenter came in the form of Heinrich Hertz.

Heinrich Hertz was the favourite student of that great

German genius Helmholtz. We pause to worship at the shrine of Helmholtz, one of the great physiologists of his time, who knew neither race nor nation in science. Then learning that to be a physiologist one had to be a physicist, he became one of the outstanding physicists; then discovering that to be a physicist one must be a mathematician, he became a great mathematician. In his introduction to Hertz's posthumous works he says of his great pupil that " in classical times men would have regarded the untimely death of Hertz as due to the jealousy of the gods."

The problem that confronted Hertz is this: whether the polarization and depolarization of an insulator could produce in its neighbourhood the same electro-magnetic effects as a galvanic current in a conductor. In 1886 he was working in his laboratory with two short flat coils of insulated wire; each coil was broken, leaving a short air gap between the ends; across the gap in one of these coils he discharged a Leyden jar and discovered that at the same time a tiny spark jumped across the gap of the second coil, although it was at a distance from the first one. The momentous fact was that a current had been induced in the second coil. This was the first wireless experiment, and from it came the work of Marconi and that of De Forest. Hertz proved that the electro-magnetic waves which had been produced could be refracted, reflected, and polarized exactly as light is, and in measuring their velocity he found it to be identical with that of light. The Hertzian waves, which were now discovered, differed only from light-waves in their length, being much longer than any waves of radiant energy known. These Hertzian waves belong in the

spectrum to the slower side of the infra-red rays discovered by Herschel.

Max Planck states that Hertz stands at a critical point of modern physics and must be credited with the accomplishment of a very important advance towards the unification of modern physics, for he thus brought optics and electrodynamics under the one doctrinal discipline. Moreover, his last work represented the simplification of the Newtonian magnetics to an ideal degree. The Newtonian force was identified with internal motion, so that what had hitherto been called potential energy was now replaced by the kinetic concept. Planck further states that Hertz is amongst the pioneers of the relativity theory.

On the practical side we must again emphasize this: Marconi did the later and lesser work of applying these rays to the development of wireless. De Forrest, by inventing a tube, harnessed them to their use in radio. Out of this man's labour thus came not only developments of vast theoretical significance, but also a result which binds the world as one.

Thus Hertz was international in a profounder sense than is alleged by the enemies of the race. Through the Hertzian waves the boundaries of nations break down and human intercourse becomes really international.

Planck to Einstein

With the work of Heinrich Hertz begins a modern era of physics that leads up to the work of two great figures — Max Planck, a non-Jew, and Albert Einstein. In this era the galaxy of great names is international, and it would

go far beyond our limits and our powers to trace the sequence of ideas and of results, or to place in due order of importance a development which has enriched, as well as intrigued and baffled, the mind of the world.

Following Hertz, certain developments took place as a result of physical discoveries, which came so fast and were so important as to make the theory of one day obsolete the next. We have already stated that the ultra-violet rays on the fast side of the spectrum were discovered in the early part of the nineteenth century; that Herschel and Hertz discovered the invisible rays of heat and electro-magnetic forces on the slow side of the spectrum. Then in 1895, following a long series of discoveries and experiments in the passage of electric currents through a vacuum, came the epoch-making, accidental, and yet inevitable discovery by Röntgen of the X-ray. This brilliant addition to human knowledge has, of course, become of enormous practical value and part of the everyday life of mankind. It awoke the scientific curiosity of a Frenchman named Becquerel, one of a line of scientists. Working on uranium, he discovered the radiant energy of matter in a natural state, which led, as others entered into the field of research, to the discovery of radium by the Curies. These twin discoveries later led to the knowledge that elements were not immutable; that they gave off energy and transformed their nature, so that the alchemists' dream became a scientific reality. All this spurred the imagination and the efforts of physicists to a high pitch.

The atom, which had been the unit of matter since Galton's day (also matter of speculation since the days of

the Greeks) and which was the ultimate block of matter, at once gave way under the genius for research and reasoning of men like Kelvin, Thomson, Rutherford, Soddy, Bohr, and Schrödinger, to the electron theory of matter.

In the first place, the X-rays and the radiant energy waves became located in the spectrum on the far side of the ultra-violet ray, and later the so-called cosmic rays were added by Millikan. All were finally identified as being forms of electro-magnetic energy and became built up into the theory of the atom.

Amongst these workers, Niels Bohr, who is Danish on his father's side and Jewish on his mother's, occupies a very honourable place. Bohr's atomic planetary system, by which there is postulated a nucleus made up of protons and electrons held in union, with free circulating electrons around this nucleus, the number of which give the chemical number of the element, and in which planetary system the passage from one orbit to another of the free electrons changes the radiant energy, became for a time a working hypothesis of science. Bohr won the Nobel prize for his work in physics. He helped to place the periodic law of chemistry in a larger scheme of things, and, as we have stated before, he brought Balmer's formula into relationship with more general and more important matters than the lines in the spectrum. One celebrated physicist stated that Bohr's atomic theory was so brilliant as to be labelled "Satanic."

We introduce at this point a group of brilliant German-Jewish physicists and mathematicians who may be called collaborators of Einstein and Planck, men whose work con-

firms and corroborates the theories of the greater men, and who enrich by their experiments the field of physics.

Arnold Sommerfeld (1868–), professor of theoretical physics in Munich, worked mainly on the theory of the atom and on Einstein's theory of relativity. His work is highly praised by all the authorities.

James Franck (1882–), professor in Göttingen, did pioneer work in studying the reactions in gases carrying electricity, and contributed notably to practical matters of great consequence. His mathematical work has helped place on a firm basis much of the theory of the atom and relativity. In 1926 he won the Nobel prize, together with Gustav Hertz. Only recently this man resigned from his professorship, even though under the Hitler rule he might retain it as a decorated war veteran, on the noble ground that he would cast his lot in with his fellow-Germans of Jewish descent.

Firmly associated with him in this fundamental work is Gustav Hertz (1887–), also a Nobel prize-winner.

Max Born (1882–), professor at Göttingen since 1922, is given a high place by Planck, for his scientific contributions, which have been principally on the structure of the atom, spectroscopy, and theoretical mechanics.

Quantum and Relativity

We must now turn to a consideration of some of the matters which led up to the great theory of relativity. We must start with Riemann, who, as one of a group of distinguished mathematicians, brought into the world's ideas non-Euclidean geometry. His hypergeometry develops the

principle that the world shows a Euclidean structure only in the infinitely small, but in its magnitudes follows measurements of a non-Euclidean geometry. The ordinary intelligent person finds it difficult to follow the reasoning and elaboration of this geometry, but it does not require an intellectual genius to perceive that the shape and dimensions of a postulated world determine its geometry. The axioms which apply to plane surfaces do not apply to the curved shank of a wineglass or a curved universe.

Weyl says: "Riemann left the real development of his ideas in the hands of some subsequent scientist whose genius as a physicist could rise to equal flights of his own as a mathematician. After a lapse of seventy years this mission has been fulfilled by Einstein."

Of great importance, and leading up to Einstein's ideas — necessary, in fact, for their development — are the works of three Jews: First, Albert Abraham Michelson (1852–1932), who was born in Germany, but was taken to the United States in 1853 and who is thus to be classed as an American. The theory of a stationary ether through which all motion took place, and by which all transmission of light and electricity was conditioned, ruled in science prior to his critical experiments.

No one, says Floyd Darrow, gets far in the discussion of relativity without being compelled to describe the famous Michelson-Morley experiment, for "this was the bolt which set off this particular charge of speculative dynamite, and upon the picture that it revealed Einstein furthered his theory." But D'Abro states that it was not necessary to Einstein's theory, although had the experiment gone the

other way, that theory would not be tenable. What Michelson did (for it was his idea and in large measure his technique) was to carry out a very extraordinary measurement of the velocity of light in the direction of the earth's movement and against the earth's movement. The fact that no difference was found in these velocities injured the concept of a stationary ether almost fatally and led the way to Einstein's conception of the invariant speed of light.

After Einstein had first published his ideas on relativity, a great Jewish mathematician, Hermann Minkowski (1864–1909), born in Russia, but educated in Germany, professor at Bonn in 1893, and after 1902 professor at Göttingen, in 1908, as the result of his work, made a space of three dimensions obsolete in the dramatic words: "Henceforth space by itself and time by itself sink to mere shadows, and only a union of the two preserves reality." Thus originated the whole concept which Einstein later developed into the world line and the point event concepts. Thus Minkowski gave a mathematical basis which Einstein eagerly accepted for the evolution of his ideas.

Another Jewish mathematician enters the scene as a contributor to the work upon which Einstein built his culminating and grand unification of the world: Tullio Levi-Civita, born in 1873 in Padua, one of the most brilliant mathematicians and theoretical physicists of modern days. He received a prize from the Academy of Medicine; in 1922 he received the Sylvester Medal of the Royal Society of London; and he was honoured in 1928 by the University of Hamburg. He worked a great deal on hydrodynamics and Newton's gravitation theories and developed the

famous tensor calculus, or absolute calculus. It was this last which was the mathematical instrument necessary for the fashioning of Einstein's ideas.

Quantum Theory

The work of Max Planck in formulating what is known as the quantum theory shows that the Teutonic German can be as revolutionary in the products of his mind as the German Jew. In 1900 he upset the equanimity of physicists and philosophers by stating that energy is as atomistic as matter, being made up of little bundles or particles called *quanta,* thus destroying the immateriality of energy. This theory had its origin in an effort to explain the distribution of the energy of electro-magnetic vibrations, which could not be explained on the basis of the wave theory of light. These quanta are unlike the electrons and protons of the atom, in that their size and energy are variable and vary according to the rate of vibration of the light. He set forth a constant value, known as Planck's constant, which, when multiplied by the frequency of the electro-magnetic waves, gives the energy value of the quantum of any type of electro-magnetic vibration. Thus, the energy of the Hertz wave is low; that of the red light greater; and so on up the spectrum until a very high energy value is obtained for the X-ray.[1]

[1] It would be impossible for us to give a connected account of the Einstein theories, largely because we are not mathematicians. We have borrowed liberally from a number of books, especially from A. D'Abro: *The Evolution of Scientific Thought* (Boni & Liveright, 1927); Floyd L. Darrow: *The New World of Physical Discovery* (Bobbs–Merrill Company, 1930); *The Nature of the Physical Universe,* by Bertrand Russell; *Where*

This brings us to the man whose works have brought in the era of relativity in human thought. Albert Einstein was born in Württemberg in 1879 of Jewish parents. His early education was obtained in Germany, and although he became a Swiss citizen, his association with German universities and his German birth and education all entitle him to be considered a German Jew. Einstein himself says of his work: "The first stage, this special theory of relativity, owes its origin principally to Maxwell's theory of the electro-magnetic field. From this, combined with the empirical fact that there does not exist any physically distinguishable state of motion which may be called absolute rest, arose a new theory of space and time."

Says Darrow: "Perhaps the first contribution of Einstein was when he took the Planck quantum theory, applied it to light, and worked out the formulæ for the *photons,* as he called the particles of energy. The photons seem fairly well destined to take their place alongside of electrons and protons as one of the three fundamental entities of the universe."

Einstein rudely disturbed the duality that ruled up to his time: namely, that of the twin monarchs, matter and energy. He declared that matter was another aspect of energy. Under the general heading of the law of the inertia of energy, he showed that matter might disappear as such, and energy take its place. "In place of the two former laws we have one broader principle — the conservation of matter-energy."

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is Science Going? by Max Planck (W. Norton & Company, 1933); *Reason and Nature,* by Morris R. Cohen (Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1931).

Einstein's greatest contributions, which, in the minds of very eminent judges, place him on a par with Newton, are the two theories of relativity which he advanced. The special theory of relativity was brought forth in 1905, when its author was twenty-seven years of age; and the general theory of relativity was advanced in 1910.

The special theory of relativity contains two principles: First, by no experiment conducted upon and confined to his own system can an experimenter detect the uniform motion of his system. Thus all motion becomes relative. Second, the apparent velocity of light in empty space is unaffected by relative motion between the observer and the source of light. This second principle is a very difficult matter to comprehend, but it has its substantiation in a demonstration made by W. Kaufmann in 1901 when he showed that the mass of an electron actually increases as its velocity approaches that of light. Thus Kaufmann led the way of the discussion of the law of conservation of matter, which for a century had been regarded as absolutely necessary to scientific thought. Einstein's theories and mathematical formulæ place this demonstration of Kaufmann's on a wider basis and involve the roots of measurement, because with velocity the units of measurement become altered, tending to approach infinity at the speed of light. Thus the watch, by which time is kept, changes, because mass with its velocity and the mass of the observer alter. Length changes too. Therefore, whatever the speed of the observer, his estimates of time become involved. The relativity of space measurement and of time measurement

in a world made up of time-space dimensions strikes a perfect balance.

General Theory of Relativity

"Amongst the various different phenomena studied by the physicists," writes Heyl, "gravitation, since the time of Newton, has stood in a class by itself. For the rest, the unification of physical phenomena has gone on apace. Heat lost its individual status as an imponderable entity and took its place as one of the many forms of that protean concept, energy. Relations were found between magnetism and electricity and between electricity and light. Even matter itself, as we have seen, is now recognized as electrical in its structure and as one of the manifestations of energy."

For the Newtonian idea of force Einstein substituted, by some stupendous and awe-inspiring formulæ, based on hypergeometry and the tensor calculus of Levi-Civita, the inertia of energy in curved space. "He found a transformation of co-ordinates which represents, even more accurately than Newton's law, the actual physical phenomena concerned in gravitation." All motion in space is geodesic. The world line connects events and these geodesic motions. This applies to all falling bodies. This involved and complicated theory does not contradict the simple law of invariant squares of Newton, but it explains what had not been explained by the Newtonian laws, and its predictions are more accurate than the Newtonian formulæ.

First, Einstein's formulæ, as applied to the puzzling discrepancy in the orbit of Mercury, are substantiated by the facts. The shift in the orbit per year, which was forty-

two seconds of arc more than could be accounted for by the Newtonian formulæ, are accounted for within one second of arc by Einstein. Second, he predicted that there would be a deflection of light in the gravitational field of the sun, and also predicted the amount of that deflection. Newton's law also accounts for the deflection of light as it possesses mass or energy. The Einstein prediction was verified in several eclipse expeditions.

There followed as a necessary result of Einstein's ideas that in the case of a large glowing body there should be a perceptible shift of the spectral lines towards the red in the light coming from that body, because with the shifts of the light its wave-lengths become altered and thus tend towards the red or the slower side of the spectrum. The spectrum of the companion of Sirius was studied. This star has a very great density. It was discovered that the Einstein spectral shift as predicted in advance by Eddington was within ten per cent of that actually found by Adams.

What these theories involve in the way of the relation of each individually to time and space and events has been given in detail by many writers. We shall not discuss this, since what we are concerned with is the contribution of the German Jew rather than the implication of his contributions.

There are eminent men of science who disagree with the Einstein theories. Most of the competent critics agree, however, that his contributions are the most stupendous since the days of Newton. They entirely change our ideas of time and space; they unify in formulæ which work at least

in many ways energy, matter, and gravitation. "For Einstein has combined more successfully than Leibnitz the principle of observability with the principle of mathematical continuity." Together with Planck's, his work has tended to do away with the concept of forces, unverifiable absolute spaces, or occult forces.

It would amuse Galileo, were he able to come back from wherever he is, to note the eagerness with which the world waits upon the mathematical physicists and gathers whatever crumbs of comfort it can from those of their ideas which bolster up religion. His simple statement that the world moves offended theologians. Alas for theology, for it strives desperately to find verification for its principles in the descendants of Galileo!

Einstein's theories may not last long. There is a law of relativity which applies to authority and which might be worked out in a mathematical way. The greatness of a man depends not only upon his ideas, but upon the era in which they are promulgated. Aristotle reigned for two thousand years. The world which succeeded his time was credulous and had no science and no troublesome facts to be discovered by marvellous instruments of precision. Newton reigned for two centuries, and then succeeding him, and in our own day, there come an avalanche of facts and a multiplicity of great minds. No authority can last long; no theory become eternal in a barrage of facts, new instruments, and the eager minds of many men.

From Herschel to Einstein there is a road of achievement to which men of many races and nationalities have contributed. In this road the German Jew has an honourable

part. His share in physical and mathematical achievement becomes greater as more and more German Jews enter the cultural field, because that field becomes more and more accessible to them. Hertz, Einstein, Minkowski, Franck, Gustav Hertz, Born — all these make up a fine galaxy of names, to say nothing of Michelson, Bohr, and Levi-Civita, who are not German. What we emphasized in medicine we emphasize again — that these Jews have not been isolated; they have not shown any special supernatural or diabolic uniqueness. There is, we believe, nothing specially Jewish about their achievement. It is essentially human. It links itself up with the work of other Germans in an organic way and makes, with the work of those Germans, part of an international symphony of effort of highest value to the human race. It is part of an effort by which the human being shows himself at his noblest and his best. Lesser folk can contemplate it with a hope and a faith serving to offset those other manifestations of the human spirit that terrify and depress.

In depicting the role played by German Jews in that phase of mathematical physics which leads to the theory of relativity we have not meant to imply that this is the only contribution to physics made by German Jews.

Thus, Hermann Arons (1845–1913) was an electric-physicist, contributing mainly to the practical and inventive side of his field. He did important work on condensers, the microphone, and wireless telegraphy.

Eugen Goldstein (1850–) made important discoveries regarding the cathode rays, contributed original work on

spectroscopy, and discovered the so-called ground spectrum of the alkaloids. He also did a good deal of work on astrophysics and is classed as a versatile and important man.

Friedrich Dessauer (1881–) is one of the outstanding men in Germany today, professor of physics and director of the institute for medical physics at the University of Frankfurt. He has done especially valuable work on the use of radium and mesothorium, especially in relationship to the treatment of carcinoma.

While chemistry has for a long time been directly related to medicine, physics has now definitely entered the fields of both diagnosis and treatment of disease, and Dessauer is an important German figure in this application of a fundamental science to medicine. In addition, he has written philosophically and well on life, nature, and religion.

Physics in its relationship to invention and the practical utilization of electrical energy has claimed the attention of German organizing genius. One of the outstanding families in this development is the Rathenau family, who founded the General Electric Company of Germany. Of great importance both in this field and in the social, political life of Germany is Walter Rathenau (1867–1922), the great organizer. He was a liberal as well, entered the field of German politics, became a leader in the construction of the Republic, and was assassinated as the embodiment of Jewish vision and power.

Chemistry

The glory of German technical science during the past hundred years has been its chemistry. Although Germany

contributed fundamental chemists during this period, she became the world centre for dye-stuffs, new pharmaceutical preparations, explosives, and synthetic products of all kinds. For example, up to the time of the war the dye-stuffs used in every laboratory of the world bore the familiar label "Made in Germany," and this was a guarantee of accurate and completely reliable preparations. In this development, which played so important a role in the scientific and economic life of Germany, the Jews played an honourable part.

We herewith list a few of the noted German Jews in this field:

Adolf Frank (1834–1916) by his technical and scientific work took the lead in founding the German potassium industry. In 1895 his researches for the obtaining of nitrogen from the air bore fruit. He did very important work in the creation of the so-called by-products, which as a matter of actual fact have in many instances turned out to be the main products of industry.

Heinrich Caro (1834–1910), director of a great concern in the anilin and soda industry in Baden. The anilin dyes have meant much in the æsthetic and economic life of Germany and the world. Caro was one of the most important discoverers in this field. He discovered anilin red, indulin, nigrosin, Manchester brown, and Victoria blue. By his discovery of methylene blue he made possible some of the most important work done in medicine and opened up a field of research that is still very active. He was the co-discoverer of phosphogen dye-stuffs. He is one of the pioneers in the synthesis of alizarin. Altogether, his career was a great one from both the scientific and the economic points of view.

Carl Liebermann (1842–1914) was one of the important contributors to the understanding of alizarin; he worked out its constitution. He also worked on naphthalene and was one of the pioneers in the work on alkaloids. This became very important to medicine. He succeeded Baeyer as professor.

Victor Meyer (1848–97) accomplished in his short life, which he ended during a mental illness, enough for two long lives. He succeeded the great German chemist Baeyer at Heidelberg, which gives some indication of his merits. He did a great deal of work on the benzol derivatives and discovered many new compounds. He did fundamental work in many fields of chemistry — in ammonias, and gas mixtures of all types. His book on *Organic Chemistry* was for years a standard text.

Willy Marckwald (1864–), head of the chemical division in the physico-chemical institute in the University of Berlin, contributed heavily to the constitution of the benzol-ring and did a great deal of original work in stero-chemistry.

Fritz Haber (1868–) was professor in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for physical chemistry in Dahlem. He won the Nobel prize in 1919 for the construction of ammonia from the nitrogen in the air and hydrogen. During the World War he was the organizer of the German chemical war industry. He has written many notable books. Altogether he is on a par with Willstätter, whom we have previously mentioned, as one of the leading German chemists.

Nikoden Caro (1871–) was a co-worker with Adolf Frank in perfecting a method of getting nitrogen from the air — a technique of great practical and scientific impor-

tance. He is an exceedingly prolific worker, whose researches have placed him in a commanding position in German chemistry.

It will be noted that these men have contributed to the scientific supremacy of Germany, for there can be no doubt that she was supreme in applied chemistry from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present day. German thoroughness, German patience, and German skill were and are recognized all over the world, especially in her chemical synthetic products.

To that supremacy the German Jews contributed, and far out of proportion to their numbers, for it must be stated here that even in the United States a Jew has difficulty in getting into the technical chemical field. There is a sort of mediæval-guild attitude on the part of chemical organizations; they are jealous of their secrets and of their techniques. Fear of the racial ability in this direction has kept many a promising young Jewish chemist from entering this profession and has forced him into other fields. The accomplishment of these Jews, then, against such handicaps as these is nothing less than astounding.

Though in a lesser degree, the German Jew has done his share in invention. To Emil Berliner, who came before his twenty-first year to America, in 1870, we owe the microphone. By many he is regarded also as the true inventor of the phonograph; in any case, the commercial triumph of Edison has obscured unjustly the contribution of this pioneer. To Leo Graetz, son of the famous historian of the Jews, we are indebted for the light named after him (the

Graetzin light); he originated, according to the *Jewish Encyclopædia,* a method for converting alternate into continuous current, and was the first to experiment on the dispersion of electric waves. So typical a German triumph as the Zeppelin dirigible might not have been achieved had it not been for David Schwarz, who, in 1892, created the first rigid airship. Schwarz, after having vainly attempted to interest the Austrian and the Russian governments, died from hyper-excitement on January 13, 1897, when he was handed a telegram from the German War Office, summoning him to Berlin for a trial flight. Count Zeppelin was present at the first ascent, held a year later. Together with Kommerzienrat Berg he bought the patents from the widow of Schwarz, and procured the aluminium and the propellers for his projected dirigible from the same factory that had supplied the late inventor. The pioneer of flying in Germany was the Jew, Otto Lilienthal,[1] who crashed to his death during an experiment. On June 17, 1914 a monument was unveiled to him in Berlin, close to the spot where he had died in 1896. It was another German Jew, Karl Arnstein, formerly chief construction engineer of the Zeppelin works, who, as Arthur Ruppin has pointed out, in 1924 piloted the first American Zeppelin across the Atlantic from Europe.[2]

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[1] Some authorities deny the Jewish origin of Lilienthal.

[2] See *Die Juden Als Rasse und Kulturvolk,* by Fritz Kahn (Berlin, 1921), page 225. Also *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* by Israel Cohen (New York, 1914), page 263. A book that specializes in the role of the Jew in discovery and invention is *Juden Als Erfinder und Entdecker,* by Ernst Heppner (Berlin, 1913). We have not been able to consult it.

CHAPTER SIX

PHILOSOPHERS AND MATHEMATICIANS

In selecting from the great body of German philosophy this group of eminent German-Jewish philosophers of recent times, there is no great pretence made either to appreciate or to evaluate their work. The philosopher has to a large extent been superseded by the physicist and mathematician as the world authority in thought. In some way he seems to lie outside of the active realm of modern work. Great as he may be, he somehow does not click with the modern attitude. However, as philosophers represent a phase of the human activity that is identified with some of the greatest names in the world's history — Plato, Spinoza, Locke, Berkeley, Kant, Hegel — they demand inclusion in any consideration of German-Jewish work.[1]

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[1] We acknowledge our indebtedness to many sources for this chapter, but especially to W. Tudor Jones: *Contemporary Thought of Germany* (New York, 1931); Sorokin: *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York, 1928).

Indeed, to pass from medicine through mathematical physics to philosophy represents a logical and broad gradation of man's efforts. Medicine is pragmatic; it seeks that knowledge of nature by which to cure and prevent disease, to prolong life and relieve suffering. It is an applied science, using as its basic approaches biology, physics, chemistry, and psychology. It enters into reciprocal relations with sociology and utilizes mathematics in its study of epidemiology, and to evaluate its own results. When we pass over to physics and mathematical physics, we deal with something both pragmatic and purely intellectual, spanning the channel of knowledge from the atom to the universe. Physics conquers the material world and harnesses it to the will of man; by so doing, it revolutionizes the social order and the life of each individual. At the same time, perhaps over and beyond this, it becomes interested in and involved in speculation about the nature of time and space, about causality and free will. It becomes a sort of mathematical revelation of God as it tears down pre-existing practices and ideas.

Most philosophy remains serenely out of the arena of life. It considers the physicist, the medical man, the psychologist, and their problems; it both opposes science and evaluates it. It deals with ancient categories in a modern world; it insists on terms of *meaning,* without which life remains a void. If nature does not abhor a vacuum, human nature does! That deepest need of man, his own validity, philosophy strives to satisfy.

We shall, however, consider with the philosophers a few men who, so to speak, have branched out from philosophy into the social sciences and who have founded, or helped to

found, highly important schools of social thought. To write adequately of these worthies would need a volume, so we shall have to content ourselves with giving some account of their themes and their influence.

The list of German-Jewish philosophers of modern times fills seven closely-printed, double-columned pages of the *Jüdisches Lexikon*! This is not surprising to those who know the Jew. Though the race produces intensely eager capitalists, it also produces men of a contemplative type, content to turn the gaze inward or to analyse the world from the vantage point of the observer. Go to any great university and seek out the students who study philosophy, metaphysics, and mathematics. The ancient people of the Book will be found in disproportionate numbers.

So we have not attempted to enumerate them. Those interested in numbers will find the list we speak of quite astounding. Generally speaking, we have sought of non-Jews the appraisal of the men we cite in this book, and we have followed this principle in respect to the philosophers.

Hermann Cohen (1842–1900), professor of philosophy at Marburg, is hailed as the chief representative, perhaps the main leader, of the neo-Kantian movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the spirit of that movement in the first part of the present century. He wrote three massive volumes, *Logik der reiner Erkenntnis; Ethik des reinen Willens;* and the *Esthetik des reinen Gefühls.* "They show," says Jones, "a marvellous mastery of the philosophic thought of the ages, and on every page a master's hand is visible."

This neo-Kantian school has sought to find in phenomena

the essence of Kant's *Ding an sich*. It emphasizes the imperative importance of the ideal elements that are present in the contents and categories of thought. Cohen takes the position that in so far as we can know, the world has existence and meaning only in thought.

However speculatively Cohen may deal with thought in life, he is an idealist in the common acceptance of the term, as he deals with the relationship of men. He does not confine religion to theoretical and metaphysical speculation. He says that there is something that is inherent and imperative in all the co-operative relations of life. Its essence is in the unity and duty that spring continually from human relations and point the way to a unity that is perfect, whole, and eternal. When men bring this thought into practice, the real progress of the world will begin.

Eduard Husserl (1859–), professor at Freiburg until 1929, " has become the founder of one of the most important Schools of Philosophy in the world," what is known as the phenomenological school. There is within man a domain of inward reality. This inward reality gives every meaning that exists in the mind. It is this intrinsic nature of man that builds up value as well. The development of this inner capacity leads logically and by means of logic to the arrangement and to the operation of all the great sciences. Thus philosophy stands above the principles of construction of all the sciences of reality, such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology. The object of phenomenology is to explain all these sciences and all other forms of activity from the point of view of this insight.

Through Max Schiller (1874–), a Jew on the maternal

side, the philosophy of Husserl was carried into religion. He states that we are driven towards the recognition of the existence of a God by the very qualities of our own nature.

Adolf Reinach (1883–), professor of philosophy at Göttingen, who died recently, deals with the principles of rights. The scientific idea is that rights have grown up haphazardly in the soil of human history. Reinach denies this and tries to show that rights are the original possession of man. Thus man is the possessor of an inheritance that is not of a negative type, but consists in feelings that enter into all the binding relationships of mankind. There is in man's nature something of fundamental importance, which is a right in itself, which is in every sense independent of nature, independent of human knowledge, and independent of all the factual development of the world. And he concludes, as do all the other phenomenologists, that this inheritance must actually exist as a quality of the infinite.

Richard Kroner (1884–), professor of philosophy at Kiel, seeks to discover how far the philosophy of meaning is capable of being developed into a system that will make into a synthesis the mental and spiritual cosmos. Thus he hopes to bring the various elements of life into a unity that will prove to be of the greatest service to mankind. Man's reason has to be at work constantly in order to know the meaning of things. Man's activity has also constantly to be called upon in order to realize what is known.

Kroner makes a sort of hierarchy of worlds. There is a world dealing with the activities of business and practical technique and giving satisfaction to the general instincts

and desires of man. Above this level we have the world of culture, such as the natural sciences and politics, in which sphere there is built up a unity by selection of the fit, and rejection of the irrelevant. Then there is the inner world in which an intuitive spirit operates and brings validity into the domain of art and religion. "The evolution of spirit continually melts the *Sein* into *Sinn,* that is, it transfers existence into meaning."

Otto Liebmann (1840–1912), neo-Kantian philosopher and professor at Strassburg, states that the external world is only a phenomenon of our percipient intelligence, and therefore subservient to the laws of thought. Space and time are products of our intelligence, space being the great optical phenomena of our sensuous consciousness. The universe itself reveals an "idea order" (this is not at all unlike what most of the present-day celebrated physicists have finally decided). Life is more than a loose play of chemical and physical processes, and purpose and desire cannot be excluded by reason.

In appreciation of Liebmann, Jones has written: "He meant more for generations of students than he had ever imagined. He lived the life of a genuine student and succeeded in making clear certain aspects of the meaning of knowledge, as few have succeeded in doing in our generation. His writings will remain a source of knowledge and inspiration to all who long to discover a haven of refuge in the midst of all the contradictions of the world."

Ernst Cassirer (1874–), professor of philosophy at Hamburg, is a pupil of Cohen's and has given special at-

tention to formal logic and its passage to the problem of meaning.

William Stern (1871–), professor of philosophy at Hamburg, is really a psychologist as well as a philosopher. He limits psychology to the analytic study of the human mind, and reserves for those things that deal with the total personality of man the term "philosophy." Instead of saying with Descartes: "I think, therefore I am," he says: "I *value,* therefore I am." Thus Stern unites the psychological with the philosophical points of view and is considered a very important figure in contemporary philosophy.

These philosophers and many others who could be mentioned stem from Plato, Kant, and Hegel. They seem, however, to have been greatly influenced by their great Franco-Jewish contemporary Bergson, in laying emphasis on the intuitive aspects of life, insisting that meaning is in some measure or other antecedent to logic or reason.

It is revealing to note that these phenomenologists, neo-Kantians, neo-Hegelians, and whatever schools are represented by their technical development take a position in reference to the world's practical affairs that aligns them with the ancestral heroes of Judaism, the great prophets. In Jewish history the warrior is a secondary figure, and the glory of David is less than the glory of Isaiah. Some of these philosophers may have left Judaism, but they ascribe a spirit of rightness and obligation to the principle of the world, which is quite reminiscent of a God of justice and righteousness.

Although they do not deny the great achievements of science, they state that meaning is more important than

the facts that the scientists reveal. All agree on the reality of a spiritual nature, and although they depart from the ordinary concept of God, they identify Him finally with the activating force and principle behind the ideals and longings of mankind.

In their writings they impress one as being essentially German in their consciousness. They have identified themselves with the great leaders of German thought, although they are not subservient followers and maintain that characteristic of Jewish thought: to be original and to create new values. Whatever race may mean to them, they borrow from and contribute to European thought, in a way that stamps them fundamentally European in their philosophy.

We now turn to the group of social philosophers. First, there is Georg Simmel (1858–1918), professor at Strassburg, who was a leader of philosophic thought. All knowing and knowledge, he said, is an activity of the spirit of man. What constitutes our growth is something within ourselves, on the one hand — that is, the self on its active side — and, on the other hand, the desire of this self for something that seems to inhere in the very structure of the world. He shows that science destroys part of all reality by the essence of its procedure; since science, as it builds up the general or universal, does so by abstracting certain qualities of objects and frames an interpretation of these qualities at the expense of all the other qualities that the object may possess. Thus science deprives the *object of its reality* in order to make a *reality for the concept*. Brilliant as the results of science may be, it operates to remove reality and meaning from life.

Like Cohen, Simmel insists that religion must mean life itself and not any mere content of life.

It is as a sociologist, however, that he is most important, since he is the founder, or at least the most important figure, in what is known as the formal school. This school attempts to do for sociology what mathematics does for the physical and technical sciences. It studies the forms of human relationships. These forms are found in every society, although the actual development of these forms differs in each group. Thus, Simmel and his group take up such matters as domination, subordination, competition, collaboration, division of labour, formation of parties, etc., and the various groups are studies in relationship to these forms. Law, government, economics, and all the matters of greatest importance are likewise considered in relationship to these forms.

Simmel and his group make the effort to do away with the vague, over-generalized, under-defined type of exposition that hitherto prevailed in this field. The adherents to this school are numbered amongst the most prominent men in Europe and America.

Two men, who are brothers-in-law, Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903) and Heymann Steinthal (1823–99), occupy an important place in German social thought. They are classed with Ludwig Gumplowicz as having given a very important impetus to scientific sociology. They founded the *Zeitschrift für Volker Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft,* one of the most important journals in Germany, and one that contributed very largely to the knowledge of racial psychology and language, thus adding to the several sciences

of ethnology, psychology, and philology. The learning of these two men was extraordinary. They were scholars in the fullest and most complete sense of the word.

Ludwig Gumplowicz (1839–1909), although born in Poland, is included amongst the German sociologists, because he exercised great influence in Germany. Extracts from his writings give some idea of his point of view: "The real elements of a social progress are not separate individuals, but social groups. . . ." "The great error of individualistic psychology is the supposition that man thinks. It leads to a continual search for the source of thought in an individual and for the reason why the individual thinks so and not otherwise. . . . A chain of errors: for it is not man himself who thinks, but his social community; the source of his thought is in the social medium in which he lives. . . . Man's mind and thought are the product of his social medium, of the social element whence he arose, in which he lives."

Further, he developed the idea of *Rassenkampf,* or struggle between social groups, maintaining that out of this struggle arose the State, as a union of the victorious and the subjugated groups; that law arises as compulsory rules enacted by the governing group for the sake of controlling and exploiting the subjugated group; and, finally, that the conquerors in the struggle take over the language and the religion of the conquered and thus become one.

He postulates an unending hatred between the different races and a struggle that is ended only with the conquest of one by the other and their amalgamation through a bitter battle.

A Jew thus contributed heavily to the philosophy behind the present anti-Semitism of Germany.

Franz Oppenheimer (1864–) in a general way belongs to the same school as Gumplowicz. He is professor of sociology at the University of Frankfurt. He wrote many books on the theory of political and social philosophy, including *Systems of Sociology; Allgemeine Sociologie; Der Staat.* As a sociologist he formed a system that ranks with the classics of Spencer, Schäffle, Ratzenhofer, and Durkheim and exercised great influence. As a Zionist he worked strongly against anti-Semitism.

Of immense social importance is Karl Marx (1818–83). The opinions of this man have been built into the ideology that culminated in the Russian Revolution. It is acceptance of this overturn or fierce rejection that makes up a large part of the political and social turmoil of the last fifty years. Accordingly as one believes in Socialism or dislikes it, one evaluates the opinions of Karl Marx.

He has been called the greatest man that ever lived and the worst one. His intellect is described as all-encompassing, or it is stated contemptuously that he borrowed from hundreds of predecessors and was a shoddy imitation of genius. It will probably take a historian of 1983 properly to appreciate him, and even then there will undoubtedly be violent differences of opinion. In a general way, he follows the ideas of the Hegelian philosophy, with its trinity of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

The central point in Marx's sociology is class war. The general background of his philosophy is that of economic determinism, which means that the economic conditions in

their widest sense determine the thinking and feeling and doing of the group. His social activity, aside from his philosophic and economic writings, was to awaken the proletariat of the world to action.

Lassalle, Marx, and Engels — the first two, Jews — are rightly considered as the founders of the modern socialistic movement. It is interesting to note that Karl Marx regarded the Jews as belonging to the capitalist class, thus placing the Jew between the Devil and the deep blue sea, since he is attacked as being a capitalist by the Communists and as a Communist by the capitalists.

Theodor and Heinrich Gomperz form a father-and-son combination not at all infrequent in German-Jewish life. Theodor Gomperz (1832–1912) was a great historian of philosophy, his special field being Greek thought. He favoured the assimilation of the Jews and greatly influenced the Jews of his time in this direction.

His son, Heinrich Gomperz (1873–), carries on the father's tradition and has written on Greek philosophy, Hindu theosophy, and similar subjects. He stands out strongly against the determinism that became so prominent in philosophic thought at this time.

We mention without any discussion Gustav Landauer (1870–); Gustav Mayer (1871–); Jacob (1845–1919) and Julius (1880–) Guttmann, father and son; Emil Lask (1875– who died in the World War); Walter Strich (1885–); and Karl Joel (1864–) as a few of the many names of importance in pure philosophy and social philosophy.

The Jewish social philosophers have been representative

of every type of social thought. Karl Marx had many predecessors of non-Jewish origin and he has many followers, both Jew and Gentile. He thus is part of a stream of thought that has no relation to race whatever. This, of course, is true also of Gumplowicz, Simmel, and Oppenheimer. The epochs in which they lived were rich in the variety of intellectual, emotional, and social currents. These men became part, and representative, of the activities of their times. They became leaders and added the originality of their own characters and the vigour of their own minds, which is all the greatest genius can do, and which every man, in however humble a measure, does.

Mathematics

The Jews love mathematics on its scientific side as well as in its additive and pecuniary relationships. It is amusing to note that of a group of Harvard students recently selected to meet a team from a military academy, the larger part was composed of Jews. This same trend is exemplified in their proficiency in chess, in which field they have contributed a tremendous proportion of the champions. Therefore, there appears in the German-Jewish history of modern times a large number of celebrated mathematicians, some of whom belong in the first rank; others are historians; many are writers and teachers.

The great George Cantor (1845–1918) revolutionized the theory of numbers and the theory of infinite sets, the basis of all modern analysis. He was born in St. Petersburg, but exercised his greatest influence on German thought, because he was professor of mathematics at Halle. Inciden-

tally, in connection with his work, Cantor used Hebrew characters to designate certain sets of characters, and this usage is retained today.

One of the greatest mathematicians was Leopold Kronecker (1823–91), who became professor of mathematics at Berlin. He worked especially in the field of algebra and was concerned in the analysis to remove the so-called irrational numbers and to go back to whole numbers.

Edmund George Hermann Landau (1877–), both physicist and mathematician, studied at the University of Berlin and was professor of mathematics at Göttingen. In 1927 he was called to the University of Jerusalem. He is a man of outstanding contributions, world-famous for his work on the theory of numbers.

Adolf Hurwitz (1859–1920), professor at Königsberg and connected with German universities for a long time, was one of the leading European mathematicians of modern times, according to our authority, and has done great work on analysis.

Moritz Cantor (1829–1920) during his long life acquired fame as a historian of mathematics. He was editor of the *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik,* and exercised great influence in his day.

Ludwig Schlesinger (1864–), professor at Giessen, has been a historian, paying special attention to the writings of Descartes, Fuchs, Euler, and Gauss. He also did important original work.

Rudolf Otto Lipschitz (1832–1903) was professor at Breslau, then at Bonn. His most important work is on the function theory, algebra, and higher analysis.

Ferdinand G. Eisenstein (1823–52), mathematician, is especially noted for his work in algebra.

Leon Lichtenstein (1872–), born in Poland, but educated in Germany and teacher in German universities, professor of mathematics at Leipzig, has contributed to astronomy and mathematics in their interrelationships.

Adolf Frankel (1891–), professor of mathematics at the University of Jerusalem, has written many text-books. He has specially studied the relationship of mathematics to philosophy.

We have already spoken of the celebrated Minkowski, who occupies a special niche in the mathematical hall of fame. And, of course, there is Albert Einstein, who is in a fundamental way a mathematician of the highest type. It is not irrelevant at this point to mention again Tullio Levi-Civita; and to call attention to the fact that James Joseph Sylvester (1814–97) was an English Jew and perhaps the outstanding mathematician of his day in his country. He established the theory of invariants, which makes him internationally and, what is more important, permanently known.

In addition to the above names, other very distinguished mathematicians are known to some of their colleagues as Jews, but we have not been able to verify this, and so we have omitted them, believing, however, from our own knowledge of the life around us that there is a considerable number of distinguished Jews who have dropped their relationship with their race on what is perfectly good ground to themselves and should be to the rest of us. They regard themselves fundamentally as physicians, artists, mathemati-

cians, chemists, etc. Life becomes simpler for them if they drop their Judaism. We have no quarrel with them whatsoever. They have many fellows in the arts and in letters. We state, however, that if they could be included, the list of Jewish mathematicians, as well as the list of distinguished workers in every other field, would be distinctly and legitimately lengthened.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MUSIC AND ART

"How can I be [anti-Semitic] when I know that without our Jewish friends all our opera-houses and concert halls would be more than half empty?"
— RICHARD STRAUSS

SCIENCE, attempting to deal fundamentally with demonstrable fact, to accumulate knowledge, is predominantly objective. Art, fashioned essentially out of the intangible emotions, seeking extensity or intensity rather than the summation of data and their control, is predominantly subjective. This is not to say, as certain unimaginative persons have thought, that no subjectivity enters into the labours of the scientist in his laboratory, or that the artist, in the throes of what used to be called inspiration, dispenses entirely with the objective approach. Nor is it to draw a sharp line of demarcation between science and art; these are reciprocal, not mutually exclusive, activities. Intuition is an incommensurable part of the great scientist's, even the great mathematician's, equipment; the technical, scientific

background, on the other hand, of the great artist or composer, even when it is not consciously formulated, is tremendous.

The respective difference of emphasis in science and art has a direct bearing upon the material of this monograph. It is not so difficult to come to an agreement in science as to the importance of a man's contribution. The scientific temper, though by no means free of human infirmities, is more equable than the artistic. It deals with measurable and commensurable entities. There is less room, in evaluating inventions and discoveries, for those irritatingly subjective judgments that make up so vast a portion of what passes for the criticism of the arts. That this subjectivity is, considering the very nature of artistic endeavour, inevitable — that a strictly absolutist criticism is a relic of theological thinking (which is not thinking at all) — does not alter the situation. Judgments of art, then, from the very conditions of the activity, are more subjective than those of science. There is great opportunity for the more subtle play of prejudice, as well as for honest disagreement. This is, in the following discussions, to be kept in mind as an unavoidable aspect, which works in favour of the Jew as well as against him.

The first determined onslaught against the influence of the Jew in the artistic life of modern Germany came, not from the literary camp, but from the musical. It was the work of none other than Richard Wagner, one of the greatest geniuses the world has ever known or is likely to know. As in his potent conception of the music-drama, so

in his artistic anti-Semitism Wagner was a precursor who nevertheless built, as we all build, upon the past. As early as 1850, in his essay upon *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (*Judaism in Music*), he forecast not only the prejudices and the philosophy of the Jew-baiting school in literature, which came to fruition in the campaign that has been conducted by Adolf Bartels since 1903, but even the nationalist-political program of Bismarck and von Treitschke.

It is of collateral interest that Wagner himself may have had in his blood a tincture of Jewishness. A tincture only, however, if at all. According to the very latest investigations of Ernest Newman, who has devoted a great part of his life to a penetrating study of the composer, even if Wagner were the son of Ludwig Geyer, "the amount of Jewish blood in him must have been infinitesimal. The Geyers had been Protestants by faith for generations, and had always married into pure German families." It is not certain that Wagner was Geyer's son; on the other hand, "Wagner himself believed in the possibility of Geyer having been his father."

The significance of Wagner's diatribe lies not alone in its anti-Jewishness, but as well in its earnestness, its protestations of good faith, its insistence upon a philosophico-æsthetic foundation. Many who have never read *Das Judenthum in der Musik,* and who know of it only from hearsay, are quite certain that it pullulates with venom. Surely it is not a love-feast; on the other hand, it is surprisingly tempered in statement, considering the passions that such discussions unleash. Wagner, indeed, may be suspected — again the ambivalence revealed by the Gentile towards the

Jew, no less than by the Jew towards the Gentile — of having harboured concealed admiration for the very musicians he maligned. That his private ethics were infinitely below the standards of his artistry — that he could have made use of Meyerbeer for personal advancement and then have let loose this ill-balanced essay against Meyerbeer's race — these are surely ethical, but not artistic, considerations and have no direct, logical connection with the Wagnerian thesis.

At the very outset Wagner makes it clear that he is not concerned with religion. From this standpoint, he writes, " the Jews have long ceased to be regarded as deserving of any hatred — thanks to those who, within the Christian religion itself, have so much attracted the feeling of hatred to themselves! — whilst in pure politics we have never had occasion to drift into conflict with them." [1]

The Jew, Wagner finds, dominates musical life in Germany and outside. Modern art has been Jewified. The Jew is not by nature an actor! Not being able to present art, neither should he be allowed to pronounce upon it. He

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[1] The quotations are from the translation of Edwin Evans: *Judaism in Music* (London, 1910). It is amusing to find Mr. Evans, in a note to this statement, defending the Christians against this " public taunt " of Wagner, and adding that it " lends colour to the supposition of Wagner himself having been of Jewish origin." Nietzsche, he recalls, accused Wagner " of the very characteristic which the latter so specially attributes to the Jews — that of being bereft of purely national trait and of having merely learned to imitate! It is also believed possible to trace the imagination of the Oriental in the glitter and glow of his music; wherein no doubt the reader will trace an incidental result of playing with edged tools." One reader, at least, also traces the results of an attempt, on the part of anyone, to distinguish too sharply between any traits as being specifically national.

speaks with a foreign accent — with an offensive twang. *Sometimes* he may be capable of expressing feeling! . . . "To whatever branch of Art we may feel inclined to admit the Jews as capable, that of song, at all events, must to him, by a natural admission, be eternally [!] denied." The Jew rules by money. There is no Jewish art. German folk-song, too, is denied to the Jew as a source of musical expression. "Jewish musical works often produce upon us an impression similar to that which we might expect from a poem of Goethe, if recited before us in the Jewish gibberish." (Goethe studied that gibberish.) The Jewish composer jargonizes all styles, having none of his own.

The chief targets of Wagner are Mendelssohn and (unnamed) Meyerbeer. The first, he agrees, had gifts "hitherto equalled by few," yet he shared the incapacity of the Jew to "develop the productions which have sprung from us." (Mendelssohn, who rediscovered Bach!) Meyerbeer wrote, not for Germany, but for Paris. He deceived not only others, but himself. Heine, too, "lied himself into being a poet, and was duly rewarded by having his poetical lies set to music by our own composers."

Between 1850 and 1869, when Wagner stupidly issued, together with a reprint of the original, a supplement to his diatribe, he became more inconsistent and more scurrilous. Everywhere, he found, except in Russia, the Jews controlled the press. German composers — witness Robert Schumann — were being won over by the Jews. Judaism was completely triumphant "in every sense."

The Jew, as Paul Bekker points out in his *Richard Wagner,* had become for that genius "decadence incarnate,"

" the enemy of regeneration. . . . In his hatred of this ' one-time man-devourer, the successful commercial magnate of our modern society,' Wagner hails the revival of political anti-semitism in his day as ' an instinct noble in origin and exalted in purpose, the spirit of pure humanity.' " Even Wagner's Gentile commentators indicate that, to the composer, whatever he disliked became thereby Jewish. As for the logic of the increasingly rabid indictment, let us look to Wagner for great music, not for ratiocination. A few years before the writing of the 1850 tract Meyerbeer, without whom the performances would have been impossible, arranged for *Rienzi* and *The Flying Dutchman* to be given in Berlin. Perhaps *Das Judenthum in der Musik* was gratitude for this service to Wagner and to German music. . . .

The Jew, adds Bekker, appears in *The Ring* as Alberich, Logi, Hunding, Mime, and Hagen, figures expressing the dark side of the Wagnerian world — a part, as this German critic maintains, of Wagner's own soul, " and as inseparable from him as was Mephistopheles from Faust."

The Wagnerian thesis, under the influence of Hitlerism, was revived in 1932 by Richard Eichenauer, in his *Musik und Rasse*. With a pseudo-scientific apparatus Eichenauer brings the indictment up to date. The Jew is responsible for the dissonance and cacophony of modernism. This, in utter disregard of the numerical facts. He is adaptive, not creative. The cases of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer are lifted out of Wagner, with virtually a restatement of Wagner's attitudes. Mendelssohn adapted the good in his environment, while Meyerbeer adapted the bad. (There was,

then, a bad for the Jew to adapt?) German musical life is Jewified.

The cry of Wagner re-echoes in Eichenauer across the more than fourscore intervening years. " Jewish conductors occupy the most important posts; Jewish singers dominate in opera and operetta; Jewish virtuosi rule in our concert halls; Jewish critics inundate our newspapers and periodicals; Jewish councillors, professors and conservatory directors select what music . . . our youth grows up with; Jewish theatres and concert-agencies decide which artists we shall hear and which not. . . ." Was ever a more tragicomic plaint? Is it the Jews that have been excluding the Germans, or the Germans the Jews? Beneath the Eichenauer tirade lurks a barely disguised, most unjustified, inferiority complex, as well as an outburst of unæsthetic, commercial competition. This is not musical criticism, for all the physiognomical " science " that Eichenauer enlists in his illogical diagnosis.[1]

The Jew, though for centuries he has sat by the rivers of a metaphorical Babylon, weeping when he remembered Zion, has not hung his harp upon the willow in the midst thereof. And, in despite of the 137th Psalm, he has sung the Lord's song, and his own, in many strange lands.

The services of Mendelssohn to music were considerably greater than those of Meyerbeer. Mendelssohn affected a

[1] *Musik und Rasse,* by Richard Eichenauer (Munich, 1932), page 274. See also an excellent review of this book in *The Nation,* April 19, 1933, by Arthur Mendel. For a far more tempered and scientific analysis of some of the principles involved, see *Das Judenthum in der Musik,* by Heinrich Berl (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926).

virtual renaissance of Bach. He founded the Leipzig Conservatory, upon the staff of which were a number of Jews notable in their various departments. Under these Jews — Moscheles, Joachim, David, Jadassohn — were trained many of the burgeoning geniuses of contemporary Europe. Joachim, of Hungarian birth, but linked to the development of virtuosity in Germany, is one of the loftiest names in the history of the violin. Moscheles (1794–1870) was called one of the greatest interpreters of Beethoven's piano music — by Beethoven himself. David (1810–73), a pupil of Spohr, is another of the famous artists of the violin. And who that has studied counterpoint will ever forget the numerous examples drawn from the theoretical works of Salomon Jadassohn (1831–1902)? . . . To the Mendelssohn school of interpretation may also be assigned Hiller (1811–85), whose compositions for the piano were praised by Chopin. . . . Wagner, in 1869, called Leipzig a Jewish metropolis. Yet the institution has served notably the cause of an art that transcends narrow nationalism and achieves — as its countless graduates have demonstrated — the seal of distinctive personality in many lands.

As a composer, Mendelssohn (1809–47) long dominated not only Germany but England. With time, indeed, because of his everlastingly melodious *Elijah,* he exercised a veritable stranglehold upon the English composers of sacred music. For a long period he fell out of favour, particularly with the advent of the new dissonance and modernism. His symphonies, overtures, and oratorios were linked sweetness too long drawn out. Yet it is significant that just as certain of the more determined Russian modernists have recently

reverted to a more frankly lyrical mood, abjuring the "primitiveness" of their earlier styles and talking of "back to Bach" and back even to Chaikovsky, so there is mention today of a return to Mendelssohn. His music, in its melodiousness, its clarity, its concise structure, its unaffected simplicity, is still more enduring than the facile isms of conservatory and symphony hall. To music-lovers without a patriotism to serve he still holds a niche in the gallery of favoured composers. He, too, forms an epoch in European music, because he symbolizes an essential, lyric attitude of the human psyche.

The enduring value of Meyerbeer's music is not so great as that of Mendelssohn's. Too, he is less frequently heard, except in selections, if only because the production of an opera is an expensive investment and depends, moreover, upon a multitude of non-artistic considerations. Meyerbeer (1791–1864), in the opera, is a rhetorician. He loves pageantry of scene and of tone. Liszt, something of a musical Cyclops himself, and not so racked as his eventual son-in-law by Jew-hatred, praised Meyerbeer for his "Cyclopean melodies." The redoubtable Richard himself learned a thing or two from his Jewish forerunner, as those with an ear for musical genealogy may detect from the score of *Rienzi*. Indeed, there are passages even in *The Ring* (one may mention, offhand, certain scenes in *Die Götterdämmerung*) that suggest the long persistence of the Meyerbeerian influence in the mature Wagner. Wagner, like the composer of *L'Africana* and *Le Prophète,* was a consummate showman — a genius with a passion for pageantry that quite outmatched the plots and processions of

Giacomo Meyerbeer. Italianate opera is not the only style that may lead to boredom. There are arid moments in *The Ring* (many of them, because of Wagner's narcissistic fondness for his overladen texts) when one would welcome either excision or a fresh Meyerbeerian blast. Yet, while Wagner's operas are endlessly repeated, those of Meyerbeer are, literally, revived; the ones live at their core, with an undiminishing vitality, while the others, in any truly artistic sense, are departed. What is dead in them, to be sure, is not anything typically Jewish. Most art is ephemeral; most art — German, Italian, French, Russian — is born to die early — still-born, indeed. And most art, need it be added, is not exclusively or even predominantly Jewish.

Germany, after all, produced but a single Wagner, as it produced but one Goethe. German music, after Richard the First and Richard the Second, Strauss, has been deficient in figures of undeniably first importance. Yet even in this relative dearth the artistic potency of the Jews has been considerable, and far in excess of their national quota. That potency has been exhibited, moreover, not in merely quantitative activity; it has revealed itself characteristically in every stir of æsthetic theory and creative innovation. The cultural relationship between Austria and Germany, in this respect, is so close that it is hardly proper or, for that matter, possible to observe a sharp distinction between the countries. All histories of modern German literature include such Austrian Jews as Arthur Schnitzler. Composers such as Gustav Mahler, then, and Arnold Schönberg, writing and thinking in German and identified culturally with German music, belong in such a consideration as this. So,

though in lesser degree, and more pertinently characterized by the Viennese spirit, do those Jewish composers of operetta who have done so much, during the past fifty years, to enliven the modern spirit: Oscar Straus, Leo Fall, Emmerich Kalman.

In this connection it is worth while recalling that Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880), the musical wit of Paris under Napoleon III, was of German-Jewish birth. Offenbach's librettists, Meilhac and Halévy, were also Jews. The father of this irreverent spirit was a cantor in Cologne (Köln). His real name was Juda Eberscht; it was in this city that Jakob Eberscht, later Jacques Offenbach, was born.

Whether, then, in the serious aspect of music, or the gay, the contemporary Jewish composer of Germany and Austria maintains not merely adaptivity, but creative leadership.

Two composers of radically different temperaments — a striking instance of how futile it is to speak of a specifically Jewish muse — may be passed over summarily. Karl Goldmark (1830–1915) was of Hungarian birth, indeed, and spent his creative life in Vienna. His music belongs to German history. Gustav Mahler (1860–1911) derives from Bohemia, yet his compositions have led to a distinct cult in Germany and Austria. Goldmark's operatic and symphonic writing (operas: *The Queen of Sheba; The Cricket on the Hearth; Prisoners of War;* symphony: *Rustic Wedding;* overtures: *In Spring; Penthesilea; Sappho;* and, of course, the still popular *Sakuntala;* concerto for violin) are post-Wagnerian, but with a plainly Goldmarkian facture. His orchestration is lush, his melodies of easy access. Mahler, too, is decidedly post-Wagnerian and post-Straussian, yet in

a distinctly Mahlerian fashion. In symphonies of mastodonic structure — the Mahlerites and Brucknerites have, in fact, evolved a philosophy of length — he wrote out, not the beginning of a new tradition, but the end of an old. For such, at this date, is the hyperorchestration of Strauss and the grandiose religiosity of Wagner. . . . The Goldmarks and the Mahlers, then, alike face the past.

The Viennese Jew Arnold Schönberg, on the other hand, faces the future. He, too, like the rest of the serious musical circles in Austria and Germany, made his beginnings under the dominating influence of Wagner, particularly in his *Gurrelieder* and the string sextet *Verklärte Nacht.* It was not long, however, before he had perfected an individual idiom that, in its turn, attracted disciples. Paul Rosenfeld, in his *Modern Tendencies in Music,* has found, in the famous songs of *Pierrot Lunaire,* " passages of ecstatic expression comparable to those of *Tristan und Isolde,* and music of an ethereal delicacy equaled by neither Wagner nor Debussy." Schönberg, by the same critic, is described as the " first musician since Debussy to have carried forward the form of the opera." In his *Erwartung* he appears to transport the psychological, or psychoanalytical, practice of the Expressionists into the very realm of tone itself; moreover, he has mixed the speaking voice with the singing.

In 1911 Schönberg published his *Handbuch der Harmonielehre,* in which he systematizes his contribution to modern harmony. " Schönberg," wrote Carl Van Vechten in 1915, " no less than Henri Matisse, is a torch-bearer in the art race. He is a stone in the architecture of music — and not an accidental decoration."

Of Schönberg's students — the man is said to be a master of exceptionally communicative powers — the most prominent are Jews: Alban Berg[1] and Egon Wellesz (1885–). Wellesz has written songs and pieces for the pianoforte, string quartets, a ballet, several operas, sonatas for violin, and symphonic compositions for small and large orchestra. In 1918–19 he composed the music for the opera, *Princess Girnara,* to a text by the well-known German-Jewish novelist, Jakob Wasserman. He is also the author of a very succinct treatise (1928) on the new instrumentation. Berg, long known to specialists in this country through his writing for string quartet, was introduced, as writer of opera, by Leopold Stokowski, to the fortunate audiences in Philadelphia and New York who heard that baffling score, *Wozzek.* As Schönberg, in *Erwartung,* had broken the mould of the older operatic forms, so his disciple Berg, in *Wozzek,* further liberated a structure that had seemed to be definitely threatened with anchylosis.

Curiously enough, it is a German-Jewish composer, Kurt Weill, who, with Bert Brecht as librettist, has been performing a like service for the light opera. These collaborators are best known in the United States for their adaptation of

[1] The Jewish origin of Alban Berg is in dispute. A number of musicians who have had opportunity to learn, maintain that he comes of Jews. Others, very close to him, and themselves converted Jews, deny this. The reference books at our disposal are silent; Berg's reputation may be too recent. The case strangely resembles that of the French composer, Maurice Ravel. There may be some significance, too, in the report sent to *The New York Times* by its musical correspondent in Berlin, Herbert F. Peyser, under date of April 14, 1933. According to Mr. Peyser, the *Zeitschrift für Musik,* founded in 1834 by Schumann and now edited in most reactionary and most anti-Semitic manner, berated Intendant Tietjen, in its April issue, for having revived the "miscarried *Wozzek.*"

Gay's Newgate pastoral, which they have re-christened *Die Drei-Groschen Oper* (*The Three-Penny Opera*). Surely the film version of the piece, with which Americans are familiar, does insufficient justice to Weill's score. The music teems with happy little touches of malicious dissonance, cross-rhythms, piquant melodies. It was Weill and Brecht who celebrated in music the Lindbergh flight; the text includes even an address of the flyer to his plane as together "we" wing over the Atlantic. Among other works by Weill are *The Protagonist,* an opera in one act; another one-act opera, *Photography and Love,* based on a play by Georg Kaiser; an opera, *Royal Palace,* that created a sensation in 1926 at the Berlin Opera House; *Concerto for Violins and Wood Winds,* op. 12; *The New Orpheus,* a cantata for soprano, solo violin, and orchestra, with text by the German-Jewish poet Iwan Goll.

Only two years older than Weill is the one-time child prodigy Erich Wolfgang Korngold, born to the music critic Dr. Julius Korngold at Brünn, on May 29, 1897. Korngold père succeeded the noted Dr. Eduard Hanslick, Nemesis of Wagner, as critic on the *Neue Freie Presse*. Erich has been composing since the age of seven; at eleven his pantomime, *Der Schneemann,* was written, and actually performed at the Vienna Opera House, with instrumentation by Zemlinsky. An astonishing mastery of orchestration was evidenced in his *Schauspiel Overture,* op. 4, and his *Sinfonietta,* written at thirteen. Such operas as *Der Ring des Polykrates,* op. 7, and *Violanta,* op. 8 (1916), and especially *Die tote Stadt* (1920) have been widely acclaimed, even in the United States, at the Metropolitan Opera House. Korn-

gold is also a conductor; for a while he served as director for the Stadttheater at Hamburg, but resigned to devote himself entirely to composition. To his more ardent admirers Korngold seemed destined to effect important changes — again from a Jew — in the operatic form. Richard Strauss, on first hearing the score of *Die tote Stadt,* found it " really astounding " for its mastery of style, form, expression, and harmonies.

Wagner in his own life gave his theories the lie. He accepted plenty of Jewish money for the foundation of the Bayreuth project, the very structure itself having been made possible by the valiant services of the noted Jewish pianist Karl Tausig, who devised the plan whereby the three hundred thousand thalers were raised. For the first performance (Bayreuth, July 28, 1882) of his most Christian opera, *Parsifal,* he employed the services of the Jewish conductor Hermann Levi, to whom he wrote a miniature library of letters. Since the days of 1850 he has been belied by the progress of German music.

Some of the most famous singers of his music-dramas have been, for all the injustice of his remarks about the Jew and singing, eminent Jews. Foremost among them, indeed, and the acknowledged Mistress of German Song, is Lilli Lehmann, who, at Bayreuth, first sang the bird music of *The Ring,* and the roles of Woglinde and Helmwige. In 1896 she returned to Bayreuth, after triumphs in England and the United States, and was acclaimed " the greatest dramatic singer alive." It was in the United States that she won vast audiences as Brünnhilde and Isolde. She is also

the author of a standard work on *How to Sing*. A daughter inherits her gifts, which came to Lilli Lehmann chiefly through her Jewish mother, Maria Low, a well-known dramatic soprano. Her father was a basso of lesser reputation.

Mme Schumann-Heink (1861–), though born in Prague, very early identified herself with German, and especially with Wagnerian, music. In her prime she was placed among the greatest of the Wagnerian contraltos. Like Lilli Lehmann, she is Jewish through her mother, Charlotte Goldman Roessler.

Jewish singers have maintained, to this day, their leadership in Wagnerian roles. Among those banned in 1932 from the Bayreuth performances was the soprano Frida Leider, generally accounted the foremost Wagnerian singer of our time. . . . The outstanding virtuosi of the violin, likewise, maintain the glory of Joachim. By a curious phenomenon most of them are Jews from Russia, or of Russo-Jewish parentage: Elman, Heifetz, Zimbalist, Menuhin, Achron, Auer, Seidl; yet Fritz Kreisler, Viennese, helps restore the balance of the German-speaking Jews.

As for conductors, Walter Damrosch (1862–), Hermann Levi (1839–1900), Oscar Fried (1871–), Alfred Hertz (1872–), Bruno Walter (1876–), and Otto Klemperer (1885–) represent a musical activity that has attracted, in the twentieth century, a host of Jews in every country. How successfully, even to the point of protective coloration, racial and linguistic, appears from the amusing experience of the new Nazi musical directors. To replace Bruno Walter at a concert scheduled during the Hitlerite

anti-Jewish campaign of April 1933, they engaged a Frenchman, Pierre Monteux. Perhaps the régime discovered, after a concert at which no German music was played, that Monteux was a Jew. . . .

Modern Germany has not been, pre-eminently, a nation of artists. To be sure, it has had its excitements, in the transition between the older order and the new — the various battles of the Secessionists, the emergence, on the eve of the war, of Expressionism, and its hey-day during the ills of readjustment. Just as in music, nevertheless, so in painting, the relative quiescence of the art has not affected the unceasing productivity of the German Jew. Again, far in excess of his quota, he is represented in the active and theoretic branches of the art.

Few interesting personalities occur immediately before the commanding figure of Max Liebermann. Moritz Daniel Oppenheim (1801–82) entered the Munich Academy at seventeen; in Paris he studied under Regnault; in Rome he was received into the circle of artists grouped about Thorwaldsen, Niebuhr, and Overbeck. It was here that he began his studies in ghetto life, which were to result in several large canvases later painted in Germany. It was at the instance of Goethe that Oppenheim was made an honorary professor by the Grand Duke, Karl August of Saxe-Weimar. Among his noted portraits are those of the Emperor Joseph II, Moses Mendelssohn, and Ludwig Börne.

Felix Possart (1837–) owes his fame to landscapes and genre painting. He studied under Eschke and Gude. Especially fond of Spain, he made several visits to that

country, so that numerous canvases portray scenes in Seville, Granada, and Madrid. . . . In their day Oppenheim and Possart were exceedingly popular.

So, for that matter, were the Bendemanns, father (Eduard) and son (Rudolf). Eduard Bendemann (1811–1889) might be described as a sort of Mendelssohn on canvas. He was especially inspired by Biblical subjects; his greatest painting is generally held to be "The Jews Led Into Captivity in Babylon." Among his numerous portraits are those of Joachim, Clara Schumann, Niels W. Gade. Pecht regards Bendemann's portrait of General Oberwitz and his wife as "among the best which has ever been produced in this genre"; the artist's portrait of his wife is considered by this same critic — see *The Jewish Encyclopædia* — of outstanding merit.

Rudolf Bendemann (1851–1884) executed the mural paintings in the Cornelius Hall of the National Gallery at Berlin. . . . Other German-Jewish painters who attracted much attention in their day are Carl Jacoby (1853–) and Hermann Junker (1838–1899), a pupil of Oppenheim.

Yet the one modern name by which German painting, before the irruption of modernist influences, was known inside the country and abroad is that of Max Liebermann (1847–), today a venerable figure whose long and fruitful life may be said to symbolize the transitional period of German national painting. He is, in himself, the representative artist of pre-modernist Germany — almost the history incarnate of the numerous influences that have played successively upon his days and generations. "Germany," declares *The Encyclopædia Britannica,* "has had two first-rate

painters, Adolf Menzel and Max Liebermann." The same authority writes that Liebermann "has done for his country what Millet did for France." This is a limited statement of Liebermann's service. Having been inspired by the Dutch Jew Josef Israels, he introduced to Germany also the palettes of Manet and Monet. Shortly after he set up in Berlin, he became, in 1884, the president of the Academy of Art, a position that he maintained for decades with most unacademic receptivity to the new winds of artistic doctrine beginning to blow across Europe. It was he who, in 1900, together with the noted Jewish art-dealer Cassirer, organized the first Berliner Sezession, sponsoring Monet, Manet, Degas, and Renoir. "The revolutionist of today," wrote Liebermann in one of the early Secessionist catalogues, "becomes the classic conservative of tomorrow." Precisely this, according to the newer schools, has happened to Liebermann. Yet he remains the one great name of modern German painting.

With the onrush of the Expressionist school, his primacy began to decline. It was an important group of Jewish painters, however, who helped carry on the tradition of revolt. (A paradoxical phrase that, but a valid one.) As Liebermann had traced the graph from realism to naturalism and impressionism, so his younger confreres reacted violently against the dominant impressionism and created a hot, primal, even brutal inner world for the appreciation of which one needed to enlist the services of the new psychology, psychoanalysis and a dash of psychopathology. There was much talk during the vogue of Expressionism — a vogue that, as we shall see, inundated the drama and poetry

— about the self in its multiple aspects. For this introspection the Jewish mind was ideally prepared; it is not to be wondered at, then, that it responded with alacrity, enthusiasm, and exaggeration.

German Expressionism, a revolt against the reigning Impressionism acclimated by Liebermann and his early Secessionists, arose in 1908. It heralded and propagandized Van Gogh, Gaugin, and Matisse. The moving spirits in this, as in succeeding counter-revolts, were noticeably Jewish and as noticeably of cosmopolitan rather than of racial cast. Outstanding was Max Pechstein, self-consciously primitive.

The "Sturm" group, as tempestuous as its name, was formed by the Jewish critic Herwarth Walden. A new Secession brought forth Franz Marc, famous for his original studies of nature and of beasts. Marc was killed in the war. His style has been likened to that of the Russian Jew Marc Chagall, who, artistically, belongs with the Germans. Likewise in the van, though not too closely identified with any particular school, are Herman Struck and the late Lesser Ury. Ury was looked upon as a genius in colour, and was famous not only for his pastels and his paintings of flowers, but also for monumental canvases. Struck's reputation rests upon his etchings.

There can be little doubt that the psychoanalytic technique of Expressionism, in whatever art, exercises a peculiar fascination over the mind of the modern Jew.

In caricature this psychoanalytic element becomes almost an application of the X-ray, especially in the pen and person of George Grosz. He may be classified, writes Mr. Bulliet, "as a cartoonist or a caricaturist, but you'll have to

stretch the meaning of the term to include also a very great artist — greater far than Cruikshank — greater than Hogarth."

Among the contemporary critics of art in Germany, such Jews as Fritz Stahl, Max Osborn, and Lothar Brieger are outstanding.

To architecture the German Jews have given at least two figures who stand out for their courageous imagination. "Architecture," wrote Schelling in his *Philosophie der Kunst,* "is music in space, as it were a frozen music." Goethe, in one of his Conversations with Eckermann, spoke of having found among his papers one in which he called architecture "petrified music." Erich Mendelsohn (1887–) and Alfred Messel, like the bold, frank modernists that they are, have attempted to thaw out, with lines and conceptions of a new fluency, that frozenness of Schelling's famous epigram.

Of the two, Messel is the less revolutionary, although in the pre-war days he ranked with the radicals of the "new" movement. Mendelsohn is among the Expressionistic architects, who, in the words of Sheldon Cheney, in his *Primer of Modern Art,* "carry the ideas of distortion, intensification and free emotionalism into building design in a way that scandalizes those who see certain logical rigidities and straightnesses in the very nature of building materials." Mendelsohn, with Bruno Taut, is among those who bring "a new sense of the importance of a fascinating architectonic form-problem with millions of unrealized potentialities for plastic beauty."

CHAPTER EIGHT

LITERATURE—JOURNALISM

> *". . . The greatest poetical creations of our German future will some day issue from a blending of the German with the Jewish spirit."* — Kurt Martens, *in* Literatur in Deutschland.[1]

THOUGH the real entrance of the Jew into German culture dates from the philosophical and religious labours of Moses Mendelssohn, it is symptomatic that as early as the period of the Minnesingers there was, among these poets of love, the Jew, Süsskind von Trimberg. It is equally symptomatic that the Jewish professor Ludwig Geiger should have examined the work of Süsskind with a professorial rather than a Jewish eye and have cautioned his students against overvaluating the æsthetic contribution of this Minnesinger. . . . There is little likelihood, on the other hand, that the work of Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86), in modern Ger-

[1] As recorded in *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* by Israel Cohen (New York, 1914), pp. 256–257. We have been unable to consult Martens' book, which was published in Berlin in 1910; the passage is cited by Cohen as appearing on page 161. It may be guessed that Martens is a liberal. He has written distinctive fiction and is an old comrade of Thomas Mann.

many, will be valued excessively. Nationalist Germans regard him as one of the polluters of the German spirit, for it was he, above any other individual, who Germanized the Jew, and, by that same token, inaugurated the so-called Judification of Germany.

Yet it was this hunchback of Dessau who awakened the Germans from the neglect of their native philosophers, especially Leibnitz; it was he who, in his *Briefe über die Empfindungen* (1755), virtually founded modern aesthetical criticism in Germany, and later had a direct influence upon Lessing and his *Laokoön;* it was he who, for his *Phädon* (1767), won the sobriquet "the German Plato" and, for his version of the Bible (1783), that of the German-Jewish Luther. Mendelssohn's *Phaedo* was the most widely read book of its time in Germany; it was regarded as a classic of national prose, distinguished furthermore for the lucidity that it brought to philosophical discussion. It went through sixteen printings and was translated into almost every continental tongue, not to mention numerous Hebrew versions.

In the career of Mendelssohn, who sat unwittingly for the portrait of the titular hero in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise,* lies a core of tragedy. The history of Messianism is spotted with irony; Sabbatai Zevi succumbed to the blandishments of Mohammedanism; Frank turned Catholic; the daughters of Mendelssohn abandoned the religion of their father; leaders of Zionism have, with startling frequency, taken unto themselves wives from the Gentiles. Some call it assimilation; others call it ruin. We register these various

phenomena as statistics, not as criticism. Conversion, on a national scale, is far more often a phenomenon of cultural compulsion than one of religious illumination. Just as the history of Gentile ambivalence towards the Jew would make a remarkable study, so would a true history of Jewish conversion. Conversion, moreover, under its aspect of assimilation operates in both directions. In intermarriage, whether it is the Jew or the Gentile who goes through the formality of renouncing a religion, there is an inevitable interchange of cultural influences. What we may call cultural conversion likewise effects a more subtle interchange. In a country such as Spain, or Russia, or Germany, where the Jew was compelled to offer apostasy as the price of admission to Western culture, the influence of the Jew upon that culture has necessarily been tremendous. So well has he blended with his environment, so well have the centuries concealed his origins, that it is frequently impossible, even after the most diligent research, to differentiate him from his surroundings. In the Mendelssohnian epoch, indeed, assimilation rather than differentiation was the course of the time-spirit.

That assimilation is typified in the literary salons presided over by a number of the most distinguished Jewesses of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The finest Gentile intellects of Europe did not disdain to frequent the company of Dorothea (Brendel) and Henriette (Sorel) Mendelssohn, brilliant daughters of an illustrious Jew. Dorothea (1764–1839), after fifteen years as the wife of the Berlin banker Veit, much her inferior in mind, met

Friedrich von Schlegel at the home of Henriette Herz. The superior intelligence of Dorothea was no warrant, however, of stability. Leaving Veit, she followed Schlegel to Paris, was converted to Protestantism, and married him in 1802; in 1808, in Cologne, she and Schlegel became Catholics. Her anonymous novel *Florentine,* published in 1801 by Schlegel, has been called the finest romantic fiction of its day. A number of her literary ventures bear the name of her husband: her version of an old German metrical romance, *Lother und Maller;* her translation of Mme de Staël's *Corinne.* One recalls, in this connection, that more than one of the *Songs Without Words* later to be composed by Felix Mendelssohn, nephew of Dorothea, was written by the sister of Felix, Fanny. Distinction ran in the female line of the Mendelssohn's, too.

Henriette (1768–1831), sister of Dorothea, never married, perhaps because she, like her father, was slightly deformed. When, after a few years as governess with a Jewish family in Altona, she went to Paris to take charge of a *pension,* her rooms became the meeting-place for contemporary leaders in the arts: Spontini, Mme de Staël, Benjamin Constant. Though she had inveighed against Dorothea's conversions, in the end she herself became a most bigoted Catholic.

The third of the famous group of German Jewesses was Rahel Levin (1771–1833). Her home early became another centre of the contemporary intelligentsia; here were seen and heard Schlegel, Schack, Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Lamotte-Fouqué, Ludwig Tieck, Jean Paul Richter. Twice Rahel met Goethe, who was the spiritual

leader of all these salons. In 1814, after conversion to Christianity, she married Karl August Varnhagen. Herself a writer of modest attainments, she was the sister of the poet Ludwig Robert.

The Berlin home of Henriette Herz (1764–1847), one of the most remarkable women of her day, was a veritable academy of arts and sciences. Here, after her marriage to Markus Hertz (1779), flocked Jean Paul Richter, Schiller, Mme de Genlis, Niebuhr, Mirabeau, Princesse Luise von Radziwill. She even taught Alexander von Humboldt to write in Hebrew characters, and in this way he carried on a correspondence with her. It was she who manœuvred the marriage of Dorothea Mendelssohn-Veit to Friedrich von Schlegel. She was much seen — too much for some tongues — with Schleiermacher. She befriended the youthful Börne when, in 1802, at the age of seventeen, he fell deeply in love with her. Mme Herz was a gifted linguist, commanding French, English, Spanish, Italian and Greek, Hebrew (for the purpose of reading the Bible), some Portuguese, Danish, Latin, Turkish, and even Sanskrit, which in her later years she studied under the great philologist Bopp. The death of her husband, in 1803, and of her mother later, weakened her resistance against the compulsion of baptism; eventually, urged by Schleiermacher, she took the step, in 1817. Henriette Herz was the last of the distinguished Jewish women in the cultural life of the Mendelssohnian period . . . and the most beautiful.

The first truly enduring Jewish figure in the literature of Germany — in its literature, not merely in the history of

that literature — is, of course, Heinrich Heine (1791–1856). One of the outstanding lyric spirits of the language in which he wrote, he is at the same time a phase of the lyric life of all humanity. Hence the interest of his racked career; hence his persistence, not only as a poet, but as a human symbol. How deeply wrought is Heine in the vital progress of the German lyric may be appreciated from Wagner's only half-sincere rebuke of those countless German composers who have set Heine's stanzas to song. Heine, indeed, is a very Lorelei of fascination for composers, just as his *Lorelei* itself has been set to music more times, perhaps, than any other stanzas in literature.

This Byronic figure, this stormy petrel of poesy, this "soldier in humanity's war of liberation," as he described himself, producing between 1822 and 1827 his *Buch der Lieder,* headed the German culture of his period. He led, too, those Jews who, in order to advance in contemporary society, underwent what we have named cultural conversion — "baptized, but not converted," was his own phrase. Little more than half a year later, in 1826, he was voicing his regret, as the baptism had profited him nothing. "I am hated alike by Jew and Christian." Between them, though hardly in amicable association, Heine and his fellow-Jew Börne helped to found the liberal party "Young Germany." Börne assailed Heine for his lack of revolutionary, direct-action principles. In later years Heine reverted to his Jewishness; he refused to see any essential difference between Christian and Jew. His distinction between Hellene and Hebrew, as Joseph Jacobs points out in the *Jewish Encyclopædia,* antedated the famous essay of Matthew Arnold on

Culture and Anarchy. To Heine, Hebrew was a spirit, not a racial provenance; it applied to any man, of whatever origin, with "tendencies to asceticism and to excessive spiritualism and with a hatred of the plastic. . . ." The Hellene was he "with cheerful views of life, with a pride in self-development and a love of reality."

Heine's libertarian utterances had led, in 1831, to his exile, voluntary only on the surface. So, too, after his death the fact of his Jewish birth exiled him, in the mind of many German critics, from German letters. It is a wilful excommunication. The prejudice behind such exclusion is best illustrated by Herr Adolf Bartels, whose professorial career seems to have been consecrated not to the service of German literature so much as to the eradication of the Jew from German culture. With him it is an axiom that "no Jew can become a German poet"; what does it matter that the stanzas of Heine are embedded in the very language that Herr Bartels writes with such limited distinction? What does it mean that German Jews have distinguished themselves in the study of Goethe? That, next to the biography by George Henry Lewes, the Englishman, among the most popular and at the same time among the most scholarly biographers of Goethe have been Ludwig Geiger, Richard M. Meyer, Bielschowski, Simmel, Gundolf, and, in more facile vein, Emil Ludwig — all of them Jews? . . . Equally axiomatic, to Bartels, is the statement that "a German who associates with Jews loses his finer qualities." This, however, with special reference to the "Judification" of contemporary German letters; and with particular aim at such noble spirits as Thomas and Heinrich Mann, who refuse

to be dragooned into the cultural pogrom now raging in Germany.

Despite the pronouncements of such as Adolf Bartels[1] and their implications, Heine cannot be rooted out of the literature that he distinguished. He is, in himself, a period of the German lyric.

From the standpoint of popularity Berthold (Baruch) Auerbach (1812–1882) was to fiction what Heine had been to German poetry. It was the study of Spinoza that turned him from the rabbinical career mapped out for him by his parents, also suggesting to him the theme of his first novel. Two years later, in 1841, he translated his philosophical hero. Between the 1840's and the 1860's he became a great favourite through his tales of the Black Forest peasantry. He was a staunch advocate of German Nationalism, but was stung into reply by attacks upon the Jews, especially when Menzel laid the ills of Young Germany at the door of Auerbach's people. He attracted many imitators and won international fame. Americans will recall him especially for the widely read novel, *On the Heights.*

Contemporary with Auerbach, and serving in a measure to bridge the span between Heine and the development of the modern spirit, were several Jewish writers of fiction in which the romanticism of Auerbach was made to serve the picturesque treatment of their race. The Philippson brothers, Ludwig (1811–1889) and Phöbus (1807–1870); Solomon

[1] The Judæomania of this lusty bigot is best to be enjoyed in *Die deutsche Dichtung der Gegenwart: Die Jüngsten* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1921), especially the section, *"Der Sensationalismus und die Herrschaft des Judenthums,"* pp. 73–108.

Formstecher (1808–1889); Leopold Stein (1810–1882); and Leopold Kompert (1822–1886), "the Auerbach of the Ghetto," might be regarded as a school, of which a later member would be Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904). In spirit, if not always in theme, these writers point forward to such as Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) and the former military surgeon, Max Nordau (1849–1923), in whom the racial spirit becomes frankly Zionist. Nordau's play, *Dr. Kohn,* (1898) repays comparison with Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardi.* With the exception of Auerbach, it cannot be said that these men enter deeply into the more specifically German culture.

That culture, until the coming of the naturalist school, was caught in the doldrums. The victory over France in 1870 was not productive of anything like a renaissance. Romanticism was dead; "Heine alone," *pace* Bartels, "was still read."[1] Even in this interregnum, however, Jewish intelligence was active. Indeed, when, in 1876, the Ministry of Instruction at Berlin decided to eliminate all foreign terms and expressions from the German language, one of the distinguished philologists summoned to the capital was the Jew Daniel Sanders (1819–97), whose works on the lexicography and the grammar of the German language occupy a long, well-burdened shelf.

It was in this period, too, that Paul Heyse (1830–1914), the half-Jew who received the Nobel prize for literature in 1910, was at the height of his activity. Heyse had steeped himself in the culture of Spain, Italy, and England. In 1854

[1] See *Modern German Literature,* by Arthur Eloesser (New York: Alfred A. Knopf; 1933), p. 20.

he was offered by King Max of Bavaria a post at the court in Munich. Heyse, simple, sensuous, yielding to mood, is a transitional figure between the old romanticism and the oncoming realism. He is especially sensitive to the emergence of young womanhood, and his writing displays more than one of what have been called the feminine aspects of style. Students of German in the United States will recall his short story *L'Arrabiata.* His tales are better known by far than his dozens of dramas, of which at least one is familiar to American play-readers: *Mary of Magdala.*

The new German literature was inaugurated by men and women who were born into, or came to maturity within, the intellectual doldrums of the early Empire. Sensitive to conditions that restricted the spiritual life, feeling the need of a reorientation, impelled by an eagerness to open up new vistas — to achieve a new understanding of life — they gradually merged into a movement to which was applied the name Naturalism. German naturalism, as has been pointed out, was not the more brutal type of confrontation that characterized the school of Zola in France. Two motives dominated the new German school: to face reality, discovering facts and relating them to the structure of the individual and of society, and to achieve a creative interpretation of those facts.

In time, as is usual in the story of all literatures, there would be a reaction against the factuality of the naturalists. The life of idealism, even of romance, against which the naturalists had rebelled, would again assert its rights as a

rhythm in the eternal cycle of the spirit. Neo-romanticism and neo-classicism, between which it is not always a simple matter to distinguish, would in turn lead to a new psychologism. Ludwig Lewisohn, one of the few American critics who has written with deep understanding of German letters and the German spirit, has found in a passion for psychological investigation, for a penetrating comprehension of the human psyche, one of the distinguishing traits of modern German letters. Indeed, just as the naturalists concentrated upon the external fact, upon outer reality, so the later ists concentrated upon the inner datum, the inner world. Not only is this not inconsistent with naturalism; it is a logical outgrowth of the method.

Distinctions between schools, even between such seeming opposites as classicism and romanticism, tend too often to mask the fundamental unity beneath the superficial differences. This helps to explain why the latest school of German art and letters, the Expressionistic, can point, in its theoretical writings, to the Greeks as spiritual forbears —the Expressionists, in whom that order and serenity which represent the heritage of the ancients threaten to disintegrate into a witches' Sabbath of hysteria and chaos. . . . The new German literature abandons absolute formulas for a relativity of the spiritual universe, and therefore of social and individual morality. It seeks, not to command, but to understand; not to impose, but to co-operate. In its father's house are many mansions. . . .

To all the phases of literary evolution leading from naturalism to Expressionism, Jewish talent has brought in Ger-

many its more than proportionate share. Its spokesmen not only appear in the anonymous ranks, but stand frequently side by side with the German leaders.

In the naturalist novel Clara Viebig (1860–) continues the tradition of authorship begun with the noted Jewesses of the Mendelssohnian succession; with such Gentile associates as Frenssen and Thomas Mann she occupies a high place in the fiction of modernity. *Daily Bread* (1902) and *The Watch on the Rhine* (1902) were among the noted successes, artistic and commercial, of their day, remarkable for the honesty and directness of their approach. In Clara Viebig, Arthur Eloesser beholds " the most productive and lastingly important " of the women writers who joined the braver masculine spirits of the day in the evolution from socialistic to individualistic thought — a development that in literary terms is translated into naturalism and neo-romanticism. Ironically enough, *The Watch on the Rhine* celebrates the Germany of 1830–70, constituting a veritable pæan to Prussia. With great distinction Viebig made the transition from writings of a purely autobiographical nature to those dealing, like this patriotic novel, with a vast, impersonal, even epical subject. Beginning under the inspiration of Zola, from whom she acquired the suggestion to deal with mankind in the mass, " she learned more from him," in Eloesser's words, " than any other German writer had done." Her *Daily Bread,* on the other hand, naturally suggests the *Germinie Lacerteux* of the Goncourt brothers, nor does the German Jewess suffer by the comparison. . . .

A disciple of Clara Viebig, the Jewess Anselma Heine (1855–1931), lacked the power of her master to grasp large

entities of time and implication; she was at her best in short tales of womanly frustration.

To the new school of social and individual vision, and much too deep and versatile a mind to be cramped into the confines of a facile ism, belongs the commanding figure of the notable Austrian Jew Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1932). His spirit broods over the whole great corpus of modern German letters. Whether in the substance of his work or in its technical structure, whether in his approach to the social framework or to the delicate bio-chemical mechanism that is man and his adventure with his fellow-mortals, Schnitzler is of paramount significance to the new German literature. A physician of the body, he was also a physician of souls. An analyst of the psyche, he was also an analyst of expression. Together with Nietzsche, to a language long considered too heavy, too dense, too elephantine in style, he helped to bring a grace, a ductility, a lightness far transcending mere froth. By example, the most efficacious of precepts, he rendered German capable of the athletic spareness usually associated with the mastery of French. His style, moreover, was the image of the qualities that were conveyed by his thought. His highly individualized tales were, for one thing, a species of psychoanalysis, and perhaps it is not merely a coincidence that psychoanalysis was first announced from Schnitzler's Vienna, the work of his fellow-physician and fellow-Jew Sigmund Freud.

The position of Freud (1856–) in the history of therapeutics lies outside the scope of our present interests. It should be obvious, however, that he belongs among the ger-

minal influences of latter-day literature throughout the Occidental world. Regardless of the validity of his theories, the inescapable fact remains that they have exercised a powerful attraction upon the literary and artistic mind. It should be equally obvious that the man must be taken into account, if only summarily, in any consideration of modern art. In a larger view, perhaps Freud belongs to the selfsame spirit that produced the naturalistic movement in Germany. In his labours, too — and stylists comment upon the directness and unwonted simplicity of his writings, all the more remarkable for the technicalities with which they deal — is a determination to face the facts and interpret them fearlessly. Because of Freud, though not Freud alone, writers everywhere think more freely, express themselves with a new liberation. He did much to release authors' inhibitions, to prepare the modern reader for a new, curative frankness.

McDougall has called Freud "the greatest psychologist since Aristotle." Certainly in much contemporary writing the Freudian catharsis has often tended to obscure the Aristotelian, to which it is not unrelated. Here, again, we must be on our guard not to confuse the indubitable literary effect of Freud with the demonstrability of Freudian theories. Even if we can trace some of the roots of an artist's productions back to certain psychological fixations, we have at best reached a fluctuating genetic value rather than an æsthetic. Freud is an influence, not a standard. Whether he brought truth, no man can say, any more than man can say, beyond dispute, what truth may be. He brought that which is more important than a hazy abstraction such as truth; he brought love of truth — determination not to be fright-

ened away by the bugaboo of gorgons. Instinctively he knew that to look unafraid upon the face of the gorgon was not, as in mythology, to be turned to stone, but to tap a fountain of renewed understanding and vitality.

The passion with which artists responded to the theories of Freud was in itself an indication of his power as a release. In the history of modern literature the Viennese Prometheus, expiating in his old age the service that he did for mankind, chained to the rocks of racial and intellectual prejudice, looms large and powerful.

The works of Arthur Schnitzler are not only psychoanalytic; nor by this adjective is meant an ideological or propagandistic inclination towards Freud. To those areas of life and living that were his special interest he brought the healing also of a beneficent surgery. His writings dissect, as well as illuminate, our thoughts, our motives. The early novelette *Sterben* spares us much of the inherent gruesomeness of the subject by its very qualities of penetration. Watching the process of dying, it somehow, like so much "pessimistic" and "unpleasant" art, expands our sense of, even our zest for, living. Often its solace is negative; Schnitzler is too honest not to be haunted, or not to haunt us, with the spectre of disillusionment. His touch, however, has something about it that mitigates the wound it makes; again, then, the surgical technique. That touch, as we have called it, is at once a quality of his mind and of his literary style; in this sense, surely, the man and the style are one. It is a delicate, unobtrusive, meditative style. It has a personal music. It has, so to speak, a characteristic hue, least of all at the right end of the spectrum when it is most dramatic in action, or, more usually, in mood.

Schnitzler, at times, as in his novel *The Way to the Open,* or his play *Professor Bernhardi,* has remembered with special keenness his status as Jew; like most of the Jewish authors who use the German language, however, he has drawn upon general society for his themes. One thing he never forgot: that he was an artist, a consummate artist whose spiritual country is mankind.

When, in time, the reaction to the naturalistic school assumed in poetry the proportions of a major revolt, again the proscribed race found distinguished representation in two of the three leaders. The services of Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–), and Stefan George (1868–) to German poetry may be compared, but not too closely, with those of the Symbolist-decadent school to the poetry of France, and, indirectly, to that of Spain, Spanish America, and other nations. From the cult of fact they withdrew — nor need this be synonymous with escape — into the cult of a more classical conception of beauty. Like Verlaine, they sought a music of feeling — *de la musique avant toute chose.* They produced poetry of a fragile, tenuous species; George, indeed, as an innovator in form was often ridiculed, in the early days, for an easily parodied, easily unappreciated hyperæstheticism. Yet the ultimate effect of the neo-classical group was to introduce a new, subtle music into German poetry.

Rainer Maria Rilke, born in Prague, was Jewish through his mother.[1] Though he wrote fiction, dealing with a

[1] See *Modern German Literature,* by Arthur Eloesser (New York: Alfred A. Knopf; 1933), p. 329. Mr. J. E. Poritzky, in the article on "The Jew in the Intellectual Life of Germany," *Menorah Journal,* Vol. XII,

strange confusion of pseudo-autobiography and history, his true calling was poetry. He travelled much, despite a frail constitution. A certain innate mysticism found release in his meeting with Tolstoy in Russia. In Paris he became secretary to Rodin; he acquired a fundamental knowledge of sculpture. If Rilke, in his person and in much of his work, seems to be elusive, it may be because it took him long to discover himself. "Death," says Eloesser, "was the inspiration of his Muse. . . ." In his technique Rilke is at once the Symbolist, through his feeling for the musical values inherent in half-concealed alliteration and in vowel harmonies, and the Parnassian, through his appreciation of the sculpturesque qualities of verse. Lewisohn has likened him, in respect of power over technical problems, to the otherwise so different Swinburne.

Hofmannsthal, Austrian, is Jewish on his father's side; his mother was Catholic. In his poetry, as in his poetic drama, he is far more the Symbolist than the Parnassian that George and Rilke were. A child prodigy, he entered German literature at the age of seventeen with a dramatic poem, *Gestern;* two years later he wrote the one-act play, still widely read, *Death and the Fool.* "In sheer diction, sheer lyric form," wrote Percival Pollard, most undeservedly forgotten of American critics, "Hofmannsthal is unsurpassed. He is Goethe's *Homunculus;* the æsthete of complicated soul, precociously a genius. . . . He is the absolute

December 1926, unmistakably implies the Jewish element in Rilke. The German-Jewish reference works at our disposal fail to list him. His life long he was an elusive character. (Cf. the brief study of Rilke in Ludwig Lewisohn's admirable monograph: *The Spirit of Modern German Literature* (1926).)

final point to be reached in mere beauty, mere literary skill. . . . The loveliness of Von Hofmannsthal's German defies translation . . . he has already [Pollard wrote this in 1911] equalled for sheer beauty of style and diction the Italian D'Annunzio."[1]

Hofmannsthal stood equally prominent in the history of the newer German drama, as did, in his different way, Arthur Schnitzler. We shall, therefore, touch upon their work again. That two contemporary Austrian Jews, each in a highly personal manner, should make such distinct contributions to German style, as well as to German letters, must say something for the passion and the authenticity with which the Jewish creative spirit has acclimated itself in German culture.

Not at these heights of German literature, yet by no means at the foothills, stands a notable company of Jewish talents: the Austrian, Peter Altenberg (Richard Englander, 1859–1919) introduced a literary telegraphism, and was, as Eloesser puts it, "Vienna's last Anacreontic writer"; Hugo Salus (1866–) is a lesser Heine; Alfred Mombert (1877–), in *Äon, Der Sonne Geist* and *Der himmlische Zecher* (The Divine Carouser), indulged himself in a rhapsodic poetry that blended with a passionate self-sacrifice; Georg Hermann, in novels now reminiscent of Fontane, and again striking out on independent paths, gives striking pictures of Berlin in the 1830's and 40's; Rudolf Borchardt won attention for his remarkable prose style; Alfred Döblin, a physician of Berlin, wandered over the

[1] See *Masks and Minstrels of New Germany*, by Percival Pollard (Boston, 1911), pp. 284–9.

face of the globe through utopias that combined science and Expressionism; Paul Lindau, beginning as a Philistine, anti-Zola, anti-Wagner, and against the young Hauptmann, redeemed himself in the end by becoming anti-Philistine; Oskar Blumenthal, who in 1888 directed the Lessingstheater, fostered the social drama there; Georg Ebers brought his Egyptological specialty into fiction . . .

The closer we come to our own day, the more the participation of Jewish authorship in Germany takes on the outer appearance of a catalogue. Names and works abound. Historical significance, if only because the themes, the exponents, and the times are so near to us, becomes more difficult to evaluate. Yet there can be no doubt that the share of the Jew is qualitatively as great as ever, and that quantitatively it is far greater than at any period before. In the earlier modern phase of the drama, and in the later phases, as we shall observe in our special consideration of playhouse and dramaturgy, he maintains an exciting leadership. To describe the modern novel and the modern biography of Germany is likewise to set down the names of many important Jews; so many, indeed, that there is little space left for anything like an adequate suggestion of individual traits. For the rest, translations into English and other tongues have been so numerous as to obviate extended discussion. Among the translations from contemporary German literature a disproportionate number of Jewish authors are represented. This, too, has its significance, since interest and appreciation among foreigners has proverbially been regarded, in suggesting final attitudes, as a sort of contemporary posterity. By no means do we accept without

qualification that proverbial criterion; it has, however, its symptomatic value.

Max Brod, Leonhard Frank, Alfred Neumann, Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel, Bernhard Kellermann, Emil Ludwig, Kasimir Edschmid, Stefan Zweig, Arnold Zweig (the two are in no way related, except as Jews), Lion Feuchtwanger, Martin Buber — the selection is almost at random, except that it avoids names for names' sake and concentrates upon figures who have achieved a genuine meaning to their contemporaries. In the work of most of the men just set down there seems to be a common factor underlying personal characteristics: a dedication to the spiritual ascent of mankind. A Bartels may seek, fatuously, to accuse the Jews of having turned German literature erotic. (Was it not Faust, however, who traded his soul to the Devil for a Gretchen? And was Don Juan a Jewish creation?) He may seek to indicate as something only Jewish the eroticism — it requires no apology, by the way — in the work of the Jewesses Clara Viebig, Else Lasker-Schüler, Grete Meisel-Hess; consider, too, the support that Freud must have lent to this prejudice. Yet these Jewish novelists display a passion for spirituality that is one aspect of the passion symbolized by the adventures of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden — an aspect, not an antithesis. Language itself preserves this dual aspect by employing the same word — "passion" — whether for the transports of the flesh or for the agony of Christ on the cross.

A Buber may develop a mystical Judaism based upon the religio-democratic ardour of the Polish-Jewish pietists —

the Chasidim. A Werfel may treat of opposing schools of music (*Verdi*) which under his hands become ways of living. A Wassermann may study modern crime or probe into the by-ways of human psychology or synthesize his reading of world-chaos (*Kaspar Hauser; The Goose-Man; Christian Wahnschaffe*—in English, *The World's Illusion*). Yet ever, in their labours, with Brod (*The Redemption of Tycho Brahe; Reubeni, Prince of the Jews*), Alfred Neumann (*The Devil*), and Frank, and with their other compeers, they are in various degrees seekers after the secret of the soul and of a higher humanity. Too, they are likely to be, and for this very reason, pacifistic, and sometimes mystical. The Zweigs are a case in point. So typical is this trait that when Remarque astounded the world with his *All Quiet on the Western Front,* it was bruited about that this Catholic was a Jew, and that his real name was Kramer—Remarque in reverse. . . .

The finest poetic talent among the contemporary Jews of Germany is Franz Werfel. His name keeps recurring in fiction, in drama, in poetry. It would not be too great an exaggeration to say that he is one of the important cultural figures of Europe today. If he rarely achieves perfection of structure it is because the passion that informs his thought at times overflows the channels of its course. Eloesser has called him a modern Jeremiah; it was this young Jew, born, like Rilke, in Prague, who was the first spokesman of the "activist" movement—one of the phases of what soon became Expressionism. The cast of Werfel's mind, indeed, is ethical and prophetic. It has a large nobility. It reaffirms an ancient ethos. . . .

The circles of criticism and of journalism in Germany were, up to the incursions of Hitler, predominantly Jewish. Julius Bab, Alfred Kerr, Fritz Engel, Felix Holländer, Felix Salten (author of *Bambi*), Siegmund Freund, Emil Faktor . . . the roster is long; nor have we mentioned critics from the professorial fold, such as Richard M. Meyer.

Publishing in Germany has largely been built up by a Jewish passion for commercial pursuits that parallels the passion of intellect so freely evidenced in the Jew. Through such powerful interests as those of the Lachmann-Mosse family and the estate of Leopold Ullstein, the largest publishing firm in Germany, the press and the magazine world have been controlled by German Jews. Before it was "coordinated" into the Nationalist régime, the house of Ullstein employed almost eight thousand persons, and issued almost a hundred newspapers and periodicals. Ullstein (1826–99) passed the fast-growing business on to five industrious sons.

Rudolph Mosse (1843–1920) founded the *Berliner Tageblatt* in 1872. It was, until the descent of Hitler upon the Jews, one of the great newspapers of the world, known to all journalists as a palladium of liberalism. . . . Naturally, although these newspapers and their allied interests employed a host of Gentile workers, there were countless Jews in their offices. Among editors and journalistic powers were to be found such gifted paladins as Maximilian Harden and Theodor Wolff. The statistical fact is that the Jewish mind, for reasons that have impelled it to the other artistic and literary pursuits, engages naturally in journalism and criticism. Even so anti-Semitic a writer as Friedrich von

Oppeln-Bronowski has been quoted as blaming, not the Jews, but the inertia of his fellow-Germans. "The outcry of the conservative press against the literary incursions of the Jew reminds me of the clamour raised by the inferior business man against his more clever, 'unfair' competitor. Instead of making complaint, it had better improve itself. If it is true that the Jews have assumed so disproportionate a role in journalism, we can undoubtedly connect the fact with their exclusion under the old régime from the higher governmental positions." [1]

In book-publishing the Jew has become a power in Germany since 1910. It is interesting to observe that at about this same time the Jew in the United States was entering upon a distinguished career in the publication of belles-lettres. In Germany the house of S. Fischer, founded in 1886, may stand for a quasi-hegemony that includes such important firms as Drei Masken, Bruno Cassirer, Kurt Wolff, Paul Zsolnay, Felix Bloch Erben, and Oesterheld & Company.

Incidentally, the famous Universal Edition, Vienna, publisher of modernist scores, though by no means confining itself to the musical advance guard, is presided over by Dr. Alfred Kalmus.

One can, therefore, understand the exaggerated outcry of Herr Bartels — though hardly sympathize with his bigoted implications — when, after descanting upon the prominence of Jews in the art and the business of letters, he is sud-

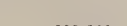
[1] See J. E. Poritzky: "The Jew in the Intellectual Life of Germany," *Menorah Journal*, Vol. XII, No. 6 (1926). I refer to this article those who are in search of many Jewish names.

denly led to exclaim: "There is no doubt that on the eve of the war our entire German life was no longer German in temper." The situation, to him, appeared so critical that, instead of commending the universality of outlook displayed by all these Jewish publishers — can it be only a commercial accident that the Jewish firms in other countries display a like interest in publishing works of international spirit and origin? — Bartels hinted at some sort of apostasy on the part of those Gentile writers who allowed themselves to be published by Jews. These leading publishers were not only providers of books; at times they were the supporters of movements.

It is only half metaphorical to declare that, whether in the higher reaches of literature or in the forum of journalism, the German Jew has mingled his blood with printer's ink in the service of German culture. The cruelty of a régime may hold the Jew at once excommunicated and incommunicado; not by fiat, not by a conflagration of books, can it exterminate the past. Books burn; men burn; passions and ideas are immortal.

CHAPTER NINE

DRAMA AND STAGE—CINEMA



In the contemporary dramatic production of Germany the Jews, always excepting such salient figures as Hauptmann and Sudermann, have exercised a virtual monopoly. Their activity is as amazing as it is multifarious. It is, from that selfsame fact, easily misinterpreted. One may receive, from anti-Semitic sources, the notion that these swarming groups of major and minor talents — these hundreds of actors, directors, critics, playwrights, and teachers — represent a compact intellectual mass operating in concert towards a preconceived end. Nothing could be further from the truth. The *echt Deutsch* commentator complains, as do all German Nationalists, that the Jew is insufficiently German — that he is much too Jewish. The German-Jewish commentator, on the other hand, is found complaining that his fellow in the arts is insufficiently Jewish — that he is much too German! The truth, as so often, must lie, together with the German-Jewish intellectual, somewhere in between.

The German-Jewish author is not only a Jew; he is an individual. Frequently he writes — consider one of the finest

of contemporary spirits, Franz Werfel — as if Judaism were as remote from his ancestry as Patagonianism. Less frequently he deals in over-conscious manner with racial material. It is not for us to dictate to an artist the material that he shall employ. It is more important that art should be good than that it should be Jewish or German or Turkish. The point is this: that in the arts, as in the sciences, the Jew in Germany is a thoroughly integrated factor. To the stage and the drama, to the new world of the cinema, he has brought something of the excitement, the adventure, the passionate eagerness, that is the heritage of the Jew, though not of the Jew alone, in matters of the mind and the spirit. Without the Jew the contemporary German theatre, making all allowances for the great Gentile figures that have distinguished it, would look, from the merely numerical standpoint, like a desert. From the artistic standpoint it would suffer losses of major proportions.

The difficulty, in so concise a statement as this, is to keep the account from becoming a mere catalogue. There is space for mention only of major trends and major personalities. And we must begin with the physical stage itself.

That stage, within the past fifty years, has been completely transformed by three Jews whose names are written large in the history of the modern theatre: Otto Brahm (Abrahamson; 1856–), Max Reinhardt (Goldman; 1873– born in Vienna), and Leopold Jessner (1878–). Brahm was no simple régisseur; he had studied philosophy, German philology, and the history of art. He was a pupil of Wilhelm Scherer, the noted historian of literature. He wrote books on Gottfried Keller, Humboldt von Kleist,

Ibsen, and Schiller. It was he, under the spirit of naturalism, who assured the production of Ibsen and other playwrights of that epoch by founding, together with a group, Die Freie Bühne, the very name of which was a proclamation of freedom. Later, as director of the Deutsches Theater, Brahm produced Ibsen, Sudermann, Hauptmann, Max Halbe, and Georg Hirschfeld.

Reinhardt, after preparing himself for the profession of actor, attracted the attention of Brahm with his acting of elderly parts at Salzburg and was engaged in 1894 for the Deutsches Theater. Here he was highly successful. It was in 1903 that his career as director began at the Neues Theater, Berlin; soon he was at the Deutsches, producing Shakspere, Molière, Goethe, Strindberg, Wedekind, Ibsen, and Shaw. In 1902 he inaugurated his Kleines Theater; in 1906, his Kammerspielhaus. It is with Reinhardt — a less finicky, more adventurous spirit than Brahm — that German production crosses the frontier; he was the first director to be invited to produce plays in foreign countries. The war ended his grandiose scheme of the Theatre of the Five Thousand, a vast plan modelled upon the amphitheatrical festivities of the Greeks and intended to recapture something of that pagan communion. With his return to Austria he seems to have declined into the spectacular. None the less, Reinhardt stands in somewhat the same relationship to German stage-production that Max Liebermann does to modern German painting. He lifted it across the border and made it known the world over. He initiated, according to *The Encyclopædia Britannica,* "a new art of stage production."

When Kenneth McGowan and Robert Edmond Jones, in their book *Continental Stagecraft,* reported upon the state of the European stage during the post-war years of the early 1920's, in Reinhardt they beheld "the greatest man of the theatre of the century."

The work of Leopold Jessner was secondary only to that of Reinhardt during this period of the European stage. Jessner, like Reinhardt, had begun in the banking business and had later turned to acting. He is a more specialized director than Reinhardt, who has been, in his time, a man of many styles, and all things to all dramatists. At one time, in Germany, Jessner's contribution was summed up in the term *Jessnertreppe* — "those stairs of Jessner's." For, at the Berlin Staatstheater, where he was autocrat, Jessner had developed a special feeling for the various planes of the stage. Here he made such effective use — perhaps, at times, abuse — of steps that his peculiar technique became associated with *Treppe.* Through these shifting planes the director was able to achieve a tri-dimensional effect that gave to production new depth, and to acting a new flexibility. Jessner, too, developed a handling of crowds that added to the dramatic power, even when he employed that crowd as a solid, inert mass. He was not averse to using distortion much as a modernist painter might do. He did not hesitate to formalize or symbolize in the service of the effects he desired to create.

Less important than the great three of the German stage, yet nevertheless a salient factor in the evolution of stage-direction in Germany, was the versatile Ernst von Possart (d.–1921). Stepping, from a position in the publishing

house of Schroeder, into amateur appearances in Berlin, he soon worked his way up to become the head manager (*Oberregisseur*) of the Munich Royal Theatre, in 1873. He was in the United States during 1888 and 1890. In 1895 he was knighted by the Bavarian Prince Regent. In his heyday, early in this century, Possart was regarded as the greatest of German actors; he appeared in the chief roles of Schiller, Goethe, and Shakspere. He built the Prinzregenten Theatre at Munich, specializing there in the production of Mozart and Wagner. He was noted for his ability in casting and as a teacher of the actor's art. He wrote widely on the theatre, and occasionally for it. He edited Shakspere's *King Lear, The Merchant of Venice, Coriolanus,* and *Pericles.* His *Memoirs* appeared in 1901.

Amusing evidence of a certain type of subconscious thinking among the Jew-haters is brought forth by the experience of the newest of renowned stage-directors, Erwin Piscator. No sooner has he achieved prominence with his Proletarian theatre than the Nationalists took it for granted that he was a Jew. Another big régisseur? Another Communist? *Ein Jude, gewiss!* Piscator, it was alleged, was really an Eastern Jew (and what more contemptible to a Nationalist German than an *Ostjude?*); his true name was Samuel Fischer. To which the director, in a book devoted to his theatre, replied that such was, unfortunately, not the case, maintaining that "*man auch Kommunist ohne jüdische Abkunft sein kann* (a fellow can be a Communist, too, without any Jewish ancestry)." Very well, then, he was one of those corrupted by Jewish influence! (The old Wagnerian method with Robert Schumann.) Yet when Piscator

produced *The Jew of Berlin,* though the Nationalist press labelled him philo-Semitic, the liberal press countered with the accusation of "anti."

The three great Jewish names, in themselves a history of modern German stage-direction, stand at the head of a long procession of contemporary Jewish régisseurs: Victor Barnowsky, Eugen Robert, Carl Meinhard, the brothers Rotter, Emil Schwarz, Theodor Tagger, James Klein, Moritz Seeler, Max Samst, Rudolf Nelson. To leave Berlin for the provinces is to name virtually all the directors of Munich, Hamburg, Leipzig, Breslau, Chemnitz, and Frankfurt. To cross to Vienna is to duplicate the racial alignment: Rudolf Beer, Emil Geyer, Josef Jarno. . . . The modern German theatre, from the standpoint of production, is all but a Jewish product.[1] The Jew has been foremost in raising the activity of the stage-director from a perfunctory job to an art characterized by imagination, style, and creative approach to the manuscript of the dramatist.

The new German theatre began with the Gentile Arno Holz, a spirit so responsive that, while he is regarded as the founder of the German naturalist theatre, he is looked upon by many as an early precursor of the Expressionist school. Holz's great service was to introduce a new reality

[1] Those who desire a long and accurate list of actors, teachers, and lesser producers, not to speak of dramatists, critics, and journalists, will do well to consult the *Menorah Journal,* Vol. XII, Nos. 4 and 6 (1926). In No. 4 will be found an article on "Jewish Dramatists in Contemporary Germany"; in No. 6, an article on "The Jew in the Intellectual Life of Germany." Both are by J. E. Poritzky, a Jew who, after a career as actor, became closely identified with the intellectual life of the country.

into dialogue and into the representation of the life out of which that dialogue sprang. Of the great German naturalists in the theatre, two were Jews: precocious Georg Hirschfeld, and Arthur Schnitzler. What Lewisohn has written of Hauptmann is true, in varying degree, of all these dramatists: "Such a temperament adopted the technique of the naturalistic drama not only as an artistic but as an ethical act." This will be found to be true of the Jewish dramatists in whatever school — so true, indeed, that to many the ethical spirit in art is a distinctively Jewish trait. Distinctively Jewish it is, but exclusively Jewish it is not, as witness the voluminously noble theatre of Gerhardt Hauptmann. Nor is the Jewish dramatist bound to an exclusively ethical program. He can be, and often is, as "pagan" as any other. Herr Bartels, as we have seen, has attributed to Jewish influence the corruption of modern German literature by erotic phantasies and "woman-chasing." One had read somewhere that even Goethe was interested in women. . . .

Amid the all-embracing dramas of Hauptmann, the coarser dramaturgic fabrics of Sudermann, and the biting wit of Otto Erich Hartleben, there was room for very important Jewish participation. Hirschfeld's fine one-acter, *Zu Hause* was done before twenty-one. The subtlety, humanity, and penetration of most that Schnitzler and Hirschfeld wrote, companioned, not always on a level, but very frequently in the vanguard of the movement, the labours of their compeers. They were spokesmen and pioneers. Hirschfeld (1873–) is known chiefly for *Die Mütter* (*The Mothers*), written at the age of twenty-two. His *Agnes Jordan,*

presented three years later, foreshadowed by some seventeen years the striding technique of Bennet and Knoblauch's *Milestones*. The chief playwrights of this period — the new voices as distinguished from the established ones — were Wedekind, Schnitzler, von Hofmannsthal.

Sensational, but by no means sensational only, was the contribution of the half-Jew Frank Wedekind, whose *Frühling's Erwachen* (1894) was, in a symbolic as well as a literal sense, a spring's awakening for the German theatre. A passion of veracity, a bravery of utterance, pervade this piece, as they do its sequel, *Die Büchse der Pandora* (1904). Here again there is symbolism in the title, for surely this *Pandora's Box* released into the atmosphere of the new theatre a veritable category of ills; yet at the bottom of Pandora's box, recall, was Hope. Wedekind (1864–1918) is one of the germinal forces of the later theatre; in his development of speed in technique — in his kaleidoscopic, cinematic style — may be discovered another of the precursive elements of Expressionism.

He was discovered by Albert Langen of *Simplicissimus,* who found him a place on that malicious weekly. He was a " character." He acted in his own plays; he fled from an action of lèse-majesté to Paris, returning to serve a term in the fortress of Königstein; he was prominent in the Uberbrettl' period as a singer and performer. His chief plays, like those of Schnitzler, show that sex was electrically in the air during the epoch in which Freud was preparing his book on *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). Much of Wedekind's technique resembles the apparent meaninglessness of the nightmare; his speeches, his people, are resonant

abnormalities; there was madness in his method. Yet contemporaries with open minds recognized, beneath this screaming, flaunting licence, the presence of an essentially wholesome ideal. When, in *Spring's Awakening,* the fifteen-year-old Wendla, too late, asks her mother: "Why didn't you tell me everything?" it is a question flung by youth to the whole world of aging preceptors — a question and an accusation.

"The most individual talent of our time," Percival Pollard called Wedekind, "and yet as full of faults as of strength."

Beside Wedekind, Schnitzler is as muted violins against the blare of brass, even when — and that is usually — his material is sex. Two Jews, two sexarians, one might call them; yet what a difference in approach and in treatment! What futility, then, to speak of "Jewish" approach, or "Jewish" treatment. Schnitzler is a master of philosophic cynicism, of disillusionment, of nuance, conjuring his visions out of a very twilight of thought and emotion.

The characters of Schnitzler dwell in a limbo of Laodicean passion. It is an insidious place, where a certain decorousness attends even so inconsiderate an act as suicide. These self-destroyers, in the phrase of Ibsen, "do it beautifully." Not that passion does not reach the depths, but that in its expression it observes a certain code of artful restraint. Wedekind used a bludgeon; Schnitzler delicately employs the bistoury. Love becomes an ironic duel carried on by words in the perfumed, semi-darkened hush of the boudoir. *Anatol* (1893) is cyclic in form because it por-

trays the cycle of man's amorousness. . . . *Reigen,* cyclic again, this time links the partners in the episodes rather than concentrating upon a single male lover; it seems to suggest, by its emphasis upon unobtrusive dialogue, the large element of conversation that enters into all love-affairs. Words, too, are weapons. . . .

For two years, after taking his physician's degree in 1885, Schnitzler was actively engaged in hospital service. He long continued his private practice. One of his collections of short stories, in its very title, *Dämmerseelen* (*Twilight Souls;* 1909), seems to describe his elegant puppets; a collection of his one-act plays, indeed, is called *Marionetten* (1906). Among his more important dramas are *The Call of Life* (1905), and the collections *The Green Cockatoo* (1899) and *Living Hours* (1902). Schnitzler remains, in the drama as in the tale, one of the great modern sophisticates. As in *The Road to the Open* he dealt, in fiction, with the Jewish problem, so in the play *Professor Berhardi* he gave it dramatic form. It was easy to dismiss the piece as a minor work devoted to propaganda; that it had a deep relation to coming events appears in retrospect, now that the German Nationalists have, with callous hearts and short memories, de-Judaized German medicine.

The drama of von Hofmannsthal partakes of his peculiar poetic qualities, and it is to be observed that all his poetry belongs to his neo- or pseudo-classical youth. That there was a romantic suggestion in his drama is evidenced by the attraction that it held out to the composer Richard Strauss. Certainly, as one listens, for example, to Strauss's setting of Hofmannsthal's *Elektra,* it is a most un-Greek,

a most splendid barbarism that haunts the ear. *Œdipus and the Sphinx,* in the opinion of Pollard, is greater than the Straussian text. The plays of von Hofmannsthal are not for the commoner, to whom they would appear to be lacking in dramatic quality. Poetic drama, on the whole, would seem to lie outside the spirit of our age. Would seem, only; for all great drama contains the stuff of poetry at its core. The apparent failure of the poetic drama in this age of science and mechanism is the failure of an audience—the failure of the individual poet, not the failure of a form.

It has been written that ours is not a poetic age. This is false. The machine has been used by critics, with mechanical regularity, as a universal alibi for the epoch. Even in the machine, as contemporary German and American poets have discovered, lurks a dark poetry that waits for release. Our poets, still tied to the past, have failed to seek out the poetry in its present habitat—to relate it to the new sources whence our own poetry must spring. The stage awaits the new poet of the stage. In Germany, long before the Expressionists sought, over-passionately, blindly, but determinedly, to bring back ardour, fervour, imagination, and passion to the playhouse, von Hofmannsthal was seeking it—as even indirectly they did—among the Greeks. He sought it with many inhibitions; they sought it uninhibitedly, but did not therefore succeed better in the discovery.

Among the secondary dramatists who achieved production before the Expressionist school had invaded the stage a few are worthy of being recorded: the Austrian Jew,

Richard Beer Hofmann (1866–), known chiefly for his *Count of Charolais* and *Jacob's Dream,* the latter a Jewish-nationalistic piece; Ludwig Fulda (1862–), a naturalist after the Ibsen-Sudermann type; Herbert Eulenberg (1876–), a violent anti-Philistine who may be regarded, for his technique, as a lesser Wedekind.

Already before the war, reaction, which in the life of the imagination is almost as inevitable as in Newtonian physics, had appeared. Against naturalism, against Impressionism, against the new serenity, the impatient youth of the nation, soon to be plunged into a conflict that seemed to be a translation into flesh and blood of their newest ism, had evolved Expressionism. It was, essentially, a rebellion against the factuality of the older art — against the copying of nature, the realism of sharp vision. It was a reassertion of the rights of the inner eye, a psychoanalysis of collective society and the individual mind, a rebellion against the trammelling confines of the actual — the triumph of rampant subjectivity. Artists would paint, poets indite, dramatists set down, not what was there to be seen, but what was there to be thought and felt about the surrounding world. The true existence was an inner state. The humble Mickey Mouse, in his triumph over physics, over aerostatics, over the ills (and boons!) that flesh is heir to, is an Expressionist; so, in her Victorian domain, was Alice in Wonderland. The isms of art are not dates in a calendar; they are attitudes towards the problems of life, and, as such, exist timelessly outside the easy chronology of histories.

The nervous adaptivity of the Jew, the historic compulsion by which he has been kept out of social life and forced

into self-analysis and intellectual endeavour, made him ideally suited to the new currents in the arts. His representation among the Expressionist dramatists is greater even than among those of the preceding schools. With the racked, striving spirits of such Gentiles as Georg Kaiser and Fritz von Unruh he is at home. Quickly, not through ulterior motive, but by simply being what he is, the Jew all but takes possession of the Expressionist stage. A few must represent many: Carl Sternheim, quite indifferent to matters Jewish; Ernst Toller, the revolutionist; the half-Jew Walter Hasenclever; Franz Werfel, the poet and novelist, to name but the salient ones — all these bring to the movement the passion of personalities, differing greatly in idiosyncrasy, but joined — Jew and Gentile alike — in their ardour for a deeper, truer living, for a conquest of unexplored realms of the human psyche, for universal peace. Reinhard Goering, who with his *Seeschlacht* and *Scapa Flow* brought the navy into his pacifistic program, is reputed by Bartels to be Jewish, but one must beware of super-nationalistic Germans bearing gifts.

Hasenclever's *The Son* (1914) is one of the central Expressionistic dramas. It recounts the revolt of the young against the old — a theme old in Aristophanes' comedies, in Greek mythology, in Hebrew mythology, in all human and perhaps animal nature. In these hectic plays it assumes the design of an Œdipus complex in orthodox Freudian fashion. The entire output of these ardent young spirits seems to be concerned with human solidarity in good and evil. *Not the Murderer, But the Murdered is Guilty,* runs the title of one of Werfel's stories. And in one of

George Kaiser's dramas the protagonist asks: "Who is *not* guilty?"

Toller is known in the United States for the Theatre Guild production of *Masse-Mensch,* which in its very title (*Mass-Man*) suggests the unity of society and the individual — a unity in innocence and guilt alike. Toller, who served a five-year sentence in prison for his part in an uprising — he was Minister of Justice in the Communistic government that carried on for a short time in Bavaria — disclaims mere propagandism. His *Machine-Wreckers* takes place among English weavers in the critical days of 1815, when the machine threatened the hand-workers at the looms. His first play, *Die Wandlung,* ends in a pandemonium of living and dead, amidst which the sculptor hero smashes the statue that he has been making. Patent symbolism. . . .

Werfel, too, is known in this country, far better than most other new German writers. His novels *Verdi,* and *The Pure in Heart,* his plays *Goat-Song, Maximilian and Juarez* (produced by the Theatre Guild), and *Paul among the Jews,* have won him a small but select audience. Whatever the worth of any single book or play that he has signed, the totality of his labours suggests, as we have already written, one of the most important of the younger writers now active in Europe. His finest drama — a species of super-morality, a modernized *Faust* — is *Spiegelmensch* (*Mirror-Man*). It has not yet been issued in English translation or brought to production here. It is a veritable synthesis of Werfel's poetry, prose and drama, as well as a pivotal document for the entire Expressionistic school.

Other Jews, less conspicuous in the recent drama than

those named, though at times more successful with the public, are Arnold Zweig (*The Mission of Semael*), Stefan Zweig (*Jeremiah*), Lion Feuchtwanger (his plays by no means possess the interest of his novels), Ernst Lissauer, Paul Kornfeld, Alfred Döblin, Iwan Goll, Emil Ludwig, Oscar Baum, Carl Sternheim, Karl Kraus, Max Brod (*Clarissa's Half-Heart, The Bunterbart Case, The Cheats*), Hans José Rehfisch . . .

The importance of the Jews to the industry of the cinema, as well as to the few indisputably artistic films that have appeared during the rapid rise of this pursuit throughout the world, may be gauged from a speech delivered early in April 1933 by Joseph Paul Goebbels, the Hitlerite Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Only four worthwhile movies, declared Goebbels, giving the signal for the virtual wreck of cinema activities in Germany, had thus far been produced. He named *Potemkin, Anna Karenina, Rebel,* and *Niebelungen*. All four, as he may not have known, had been produced under Jewish directors.

Among the Jewish film companies of Germany are the Nero Film (Nebenzahl), Star Film (Nebenzahl), Super-Film (Julius Haymann) and German Universal Film (Fellner and Semmle). . . . It was only a few years ago that the film story *Variety* was creating a sensation in America. It is easy to underestimate the importance of the United States in the development of cinematic artistry, an industry that in this country, as is well known, is largely in the hands of Jews. *Variety,* however, did undoubtedly act as a spur to domestic subtlety. We heard a great deal,

for a long time, about its "camera angles," and later films of our own were not slow to profit by this special technique, which had been developed in *Variety* by its Jewish director, E. A. Dupont.

For month after month we flocked to see and hear *Zwei Herzen im Drei Viertel Takt.* Strangely enough, it scored its hit in this country long after Hollywood had given up the musical film as a bad, hybrid job. The musical film, far from being played out in this country, has yet truly to begin. The effect of *Zwei Herzen,* then, was soon visible in the work of American directors. Both this charming film and *The Theft of Mona Lisa,* not to speak of *Das Lied ist Aus, Liebeskommando,* and *Ich Will Nicht Wissen Wer Du Bist,* are the work of another German-Jewish director, Geza Von Bolvary. So, too, *Congress Dances* was produced under Erich Pommer, *Blue Danube* and *The Weavers* under Friedrich Zelnick, *Das Lied von Leben* under Granovski, *Be Mine Tonight* under Joe May, *Dreyfus* and *Danton* under Richard Oswald, *Brave Sinners* under that sterling actor Fritz Kortner, *White Devil* under Alexander Wolkoff, *Marie* under Paul Fejos—all of them Jews, as are their fellow-directors Georg Jacoby, director of *Kadetten,* Kurt Gerron, Richard Eichberg, and Robert Land.

This should be sufficient to suggest what, before the recent confiscation of the industry by the Nazis, was in effect a Jewish domination. Beyond a doubt that domination fell into the many pitfalls spread by commercialism for this industry; on the other hand, from the æsthetic standpoint the higher type of German-Jewish film, in its own field, and in a very brief period, made history.

CONCLUSIONS

Against the powerful, insidious handicap of anti-Semitism the German Jew has contributed brilliantly to the science and art of his country and of the world.

Men of talent in abundance, and some of great eminence, have appeared in German annals at a rate far beyond the proportion of the German Jew to the rest of the German population.

We do not pretend to have covered every field of this contribution. We have selected a few representative pursuits. In psychology, in government, in finance, in technology, the general story would have read in much the same fashion. Nor have we considered such eminent names as Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891), historian of the Jews; Leopold Zunz (1794–1886), who in 1818 founded the scientific study of Judaism; Eduard Gans (1798–1839), in jurisprudence. The labors of these men were of primary importance; they belong, however, to German-Jewish, rather than to German, culture.

No fair consideration can deny genius to a small group that, in a century or less, has produced men such as Henle

and Ehrlich in medicine, Hertz and Einstein in physics, Cantor and Minkowski in mathematics, Husserl and Cohen in philosophy, Freud in psychology, Lazarus and Steinthal in folk-psychology, Gumplowicz and Simmel in social science, Schnitzler, Wedekind, and von Hofmannsthal in drama, Heine in poetry. . . .

These men, and a host of others, have laboured zealously to advance science and art for the glory of the German name and for the profit of mankind.

Nor have they stood aside in a cynical or perverted isolation from the events of the German scene. They have toiled with their fellows for the good of the Fatherland.

Their peers in their respective fields of endeavour, generously and heartily co-operating with them, have proclaimed them great.

In the loftier reaches of science and art there is no *Rassenkampf* — no group war.

Behind the nation-wide *auto da fé* conducted by the paranoid, medieval Hitler, lurks an inferiority complex with which he has succeeded in infecting a noble nation. Using the psychology of defeat he has made the Jews the scapegoat of that defeat; he has made less than one per cent of Germany the bugaboo of ninety-nine; under the pretext of abolishing Communism, too, he has become more and more Communistic in his arbitrary pronouncements and enforcements. Once again he has proved the observation of Renan: *Les ennemis du Judaïsme, regardez-y de près, vous verrez que ce sont en général des ennemis de l'esprit moderne.* "Examine closely the enemies of Jewry and you will find that they are generally enemies of the modern spirit."

We write the final pages of this little book on May 10, 1933, the day devoted by Hitlerism to the public burning of Jewish books and of other volumes proclaiming the spirit of liberation. From these ashes, as from the ashes of old, the Jew — the Phoenix of peoples — will arise. These are but the embers of an ancient holocaust. Together with the silenced Germans who regard this persecution with shame we watch the inglorious flames. Together with them we know that this is not only a conflagration of Jewish books; on these pyres burn, too, the lost liberties of the German people. And that liberty, too, will rise, Phoenix-like, from these ashes. . . .

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[1] The reader is reminded that the listing of a name in the Index is not a statement of Jewish origin. To establish that status the text must be consulted.

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A NOTE ON THE TYPE
IN WHICH THIS BOOK IS SET

This book is set in Granjon, a type named in compliment to ROBERT GRANJON, *but neither a copy of a classic face nor an entirely original creation. George W. Jones drew the basic design for this type from classic sources, but deviated from his model to profit by the intervening centuries of experience and progress. This type is based primarily upon the type used by Claude Garamond (1510–61) in his beautiful French books, and more closely resembles Garamond's own than do any of the various modern types that bear his name.*

Of Robert Granjon nothing is known before 1545, except that he had begun his career as type-cutter in 1523. The boldest and most original designer of his time, he was one of the first to practise the trade of type-founder apart from that of printer. Between 1549 and 1551 he printed a number of books in Paris, also continuing as type-cutter. By 1557 he was settled in Lyons and had married Antoinette Salamon, whose father, Bernard, was an artist associated with Jean de Tournes. Between 1557 and 1562 Granjon printed about twenty books in types designed by himself, following, after the fashion of the day, the cursive handwriting of the time. These types, usually known as "caractères de civilité," he himself called "lettres français," as especially appropriate to his own country. He was granted a monopoly of these types for ten years, but they were soon copied. Granjon appears to have lived in Antwerp for a time, but was at Lyons in 1575 and 1577, and for the next decade at Rome, working for the Vatican and Medici presses, his work consisting largely in cutting exotic types. Towards the end of his life he may have returned to live in Paris, where he died in 1590.

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